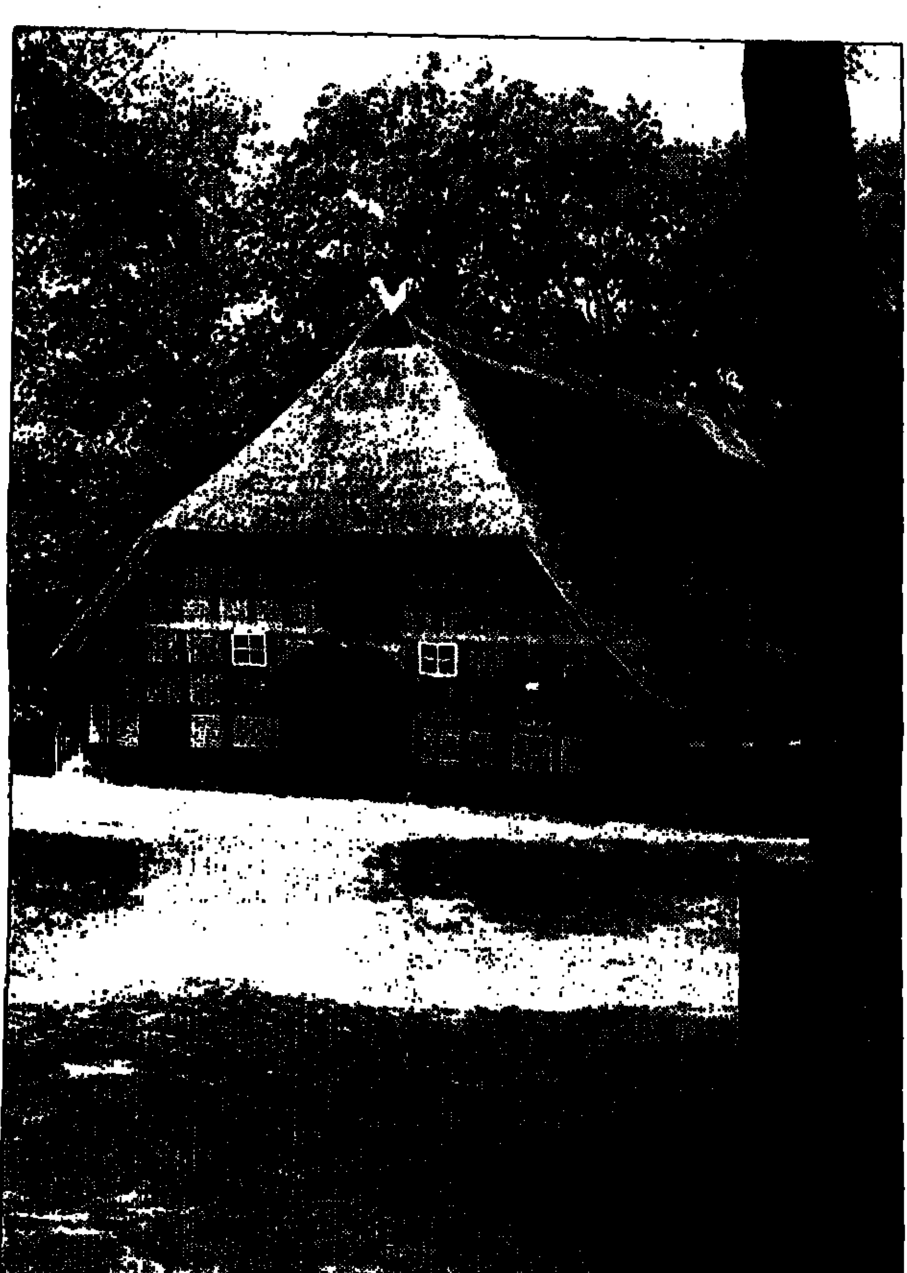
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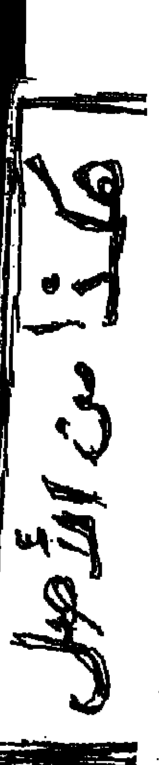
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1 Brunswick
2 An old Lüneburg Heath farmhouse
3 The Harz
4 Göttingen





The German Tribune

Hamburg, 31 August 1986
Twenty-fifth year - No. 1241 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

Big powers still bogged down on key issues



Moscow is playing East-West relations rather coolly, pessimistically and a bit stand offish. Washington is torn between demonstrative White House optimism and Congress demands for greater disarmament.

It seems that White House optimism is gaining the upper hand.

The expert-level talks paving the way for the second meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachov have been referred to by both sides as "serious, substantial and to-the-point."

There are some encouraging trends in the East-West game: agreement has been reached on an extensive exchange programme for schoolchildren, students, scientists, artists and sportsmen.

Another pleasant feature is that the governments have not again slipped into the icy rhetoric which poisoned the political atmosphere during the first years of the Reagan Administration.

Progress has been made compared with 1984/85. But there is a list of steps backward as well.

This list is headed by President Reagan's announcement not to respect the provisions of the second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (Salt II) as of 1987.

There is also uncertainty about the future of the anti-ballistic missile treaty (ABM). The ABM treaty, which was drawn up in 1972, is still the most effective barrier against Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), since it bans the testing and deployment of space-based defence weapons.

A third point which has particularly annoyed Moscow is Reagan's renewed refusal to join the Soviet test ban moratorium which has just been extended until the end of the year.

Soviet behaviour has also worsened the situation because of their vague information on the use of radar facilities near Krasnajorsk or the encodement of data during missile tests.

If all these aspects are included in the assessment the situation looks less positive.

It at least becomes clear that there is a reason for the scepticism expressed by Soviet newspapers and officials.

Americans and Soviets have made headway in marginal fields, but there are no signs of tangible progress on key issues.

The only thing they have reached agreement on is the objective formulated by their foreign ministers Shultz and Gromyko and confirmed at last year's summit meeting between Reagan and Gorbachov that negotiations are being conducted to "prevent an arms race in space and to end it on earth . . ."

The fact that this common realisation has not yet led to concrete action is a result of the deep mistrust which President Reagan in particular has with regard to the Kremlin and arms control.

What other reason can there be for his unwillingness to budge from his dream of a reliable technological response to intercontinental missiles — SDI?

He is wary of the political response, namely to reduce the number of strategic arms via corresponding agreements with the other side.

He again made this clear this month by pointing out that (SDI) technology gives both sides the possibility of reducing their arms arsenals without jeopardising their own security.

The risk that one side might cheat by retaining more missiles than agreed upon, Reagan added, could be eliminated via effective defence. Reagan also left no doubts about his intentions:

"When the time has come and research is ready, we shall deploy." The Soviet Union, which has also been conducting military space research for years, sees this as the critical aspect.

In their eyes, a deployment of SDI systems would mean extending the arms race to space and thus renouncing the Shultz-Gromyko formula.

Since Reagan seems unwilling to talk about this subject the disarmament dialogue has come to a standstill.

The vision of an invulnerable and "missile-proof" United States is preventing negotiators in Geneva from making greater efforts to ease the already critical nuclear arms situation.

For as long as it seems possible to undermine an SDI system by increasing the number of missiles the chances of the "big deal" are poor.

This need not of course mean that further progress is impossible.

The problems relating to SDI and ABM as well as the reduction of strategic arsenals could be shelved until Washington really nows what is wants.

(Cartoon: Walter Hanel- Kölner-Stadt Anzeiger)

In the meantime practical steps could be taken at other levels, such as nuclear medium-range weapons, the ban on chemical weapons, troop reduction talks in Vienna and the CSCE conference in Stockholm.

These are all ways of creating a situation in which a compromise could be reached on strategic arms stability.

This will not be possible during Reagan's period in office, but will be possible when his successor comes along.

Gorbachov is not the only one forced to start saving.

In view of the huge deficit and public debt in America Congress is also starting to pull the emergency brake.

Technological solutions are, unfortunately, very expensive.

Realisation of this fact already made it easier to do without certain anti-ballistic missile system during the seventies.

Wolfgang Schmieg

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 19 August 1986)

IN THIS ISSUE

The aim behind renewal of Soviet test ban

The Soviet Union has announced it is to continue its unilateral ban on nuclear tests until the end of the year.

When the Soviet party boss, Mikhail Gorbachov, explained why he thought an extension was the right decision, he gave the impression that there had been opposition to it in the Soviet Union.

He had managed to prevail and persuade the Politburo to approve the decision.

The Soviet Union began its self-imposed ban a year ago. It was to have expired on August 6.

Speaking on television, Gorbachov said an extended ban might lead to a bilateral agreement during a summit meeting with President Reagan.

Gorbachov chose his words carefully. He did not say that a bilateral agreement was a precondition for a new summit.

Instead, it became clear that he would be satisfied if the summit resulted in an agreement. This is the political crux of Gorbachov's statement.

So far the United States has always stated that the continuation of its underground nuclear tests is not only aimed at modernising its nuclear weapons arsenal, where it feels it has some technological catching up to do, but is also necessary in terms of SDI research.

This would now seem to be the decisive motive for Gorbachov's call for an end to nuclear tests.

If he were able to mobilise public pressure on President Reagan, and he seems to have achieved some success in this respect in Congress, he might feel that an end to American nuclear tests would decisively weaken the SDI programme. Contrary to the common assumption, however, this would not increase the incentive for genuine disarmament, but reduce that incentive.

Gorbachov would not then need to make specific promises on actual disarmament in order to achieve a limitation of the American SDI programme.

In this sense if Gorbachov concentrates on his popularity-conscious call for a ban on nuclear tests this need not necessarily be a positive sign.

Such an approach could indicate that Gorbachov is unwilling to take any further-reaching steps towards disarmament, at least not while Ronald Reagan is president.

Gorbachov wants to bind the Reagan Administration. He then hopes to achieve the kind of agreement he really wants in negotiations with Reagan's successor.

A great deal at least would support this sceptical interpretation.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 20 August 1986)

WORLD AFFAIRS

Congress vote hits European SDI hopes

"Well," said John Glenn, the first American to orbit the earth in a space capsule, and today a senator in Ohio, "I've had enough of the people in Washington who talk like Rambo and act like Bambi."

The man who in 1962 was hailed as a hero of the American pioneering spirit was referring to the die-hard supporters of free trade, who are unwilling to back down from their beliefs despite a looming balance of trade deficit of $170bn.

The protectionist Senator from Ohio forwarded a defence budget amendment requiring all future SDI research contracts to be placed inside the United States unless the Pentagon certifies that the work in question cannot be done by American companies.

The amendment was passed by the Senate. This was a slap in the face for the United States' allies.

It now looks as if the many years of debates in the Federal Republic of Germany on the pros and cons of SDI participation, which strained the alliance and almost led to a serious split between Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, may have been a waste of time.

The dream West German firms had of getting a big slice of the SDI cake (not so much in terms of money but of technological know-how) may be over.

The deals that Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, Interatom, Schott and Carl Zeiss have allegedly already clinched will be carried out.

German industry as a whole, however, could then find itself cut off from access to the technology of the 21st century.

In the hectic rush of the final days in session before its summer break the US Senate dropped another bombshell in Bonn's direction.

The House of Represenatives also added the amendment to the Pentagon budget that the withdrawal of chemical weapons from the Federal Republic of Germany should be postponed until new chemical weapons have been stationed there.

As the representatives also voted for a one-year ban on the production of binary gas shells, whose two chemical ingredients first develop their lethal effect when they mix after launching, these chemical weapons are unlikely to be transported from German soil in the near future.

The wafer-thin majority of 210 to 209 votes for this amendment could mean that all the agreements made between Chancellor Kohl and President Reagan at the last economic summit in Tokyo will end up in the wastepaper basket.

This decision also has implications for the decision-making framework of the use of chemical weapons.

Washington's concession to Bonn not to station the new poison gas weapons in the Federal Republic in peacetime, and only with Bonn's explicit approval in a crisis situation has been criticised in Congress.

This could turn Western Europe into a chemical-weapons-free zone, which, critics claim, would not serve the interests of the United States.

The new move by the House of Representatives could revive the whole discussion concerning the use of chemical weapons.

During its defence budget debate Congress had a third surprise ready for Bonn.

It threatened to ditch the biggest German-American military development project RAM, the anti-aircraft missile system planned for the West German navy.

Bonn has already invested DM150m in the project.

In a letter urging Congress to support the project Bonn Defence Minister, Manfred Wörner, emphasised that if the money is not provided for the joint development project the consequences would be disastrous.

Unimpressed by this plea Congress members stated that cooperation alone does not yet warrant continuing project which is questionable in military terms.

The House of Representatives made the RAM project contingent upon a number of conditions which may prove unacceptable to Bonn.

In disregard of its allies Congress is once again going it alone in the field of foreign policy.

What is more, in doing so it also ignores political and diplomatic positions supported by the White House, not only regarding relations to Europe.

There have been substantial cutbacks, for example, in the Administration's draft defence budget, particularly in sensitive arms policy areas such as SDI.

The Senate cut back the draft for the Pentagon from $320bn to $295bn, and the House of Representatives even reduced the figure to $286bn.

The Senate slashed the money for SDI to $3.1bn (White House plan for 1987: $5.3bn).

In both cases a mediation committee will have to intervene after the summer break and the compromise negotiated will have to be discussed in both chambers of Congress.

This may then be followed by a presidential veto.

Although the deadline schedules of such parliamentary procedure may still

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

be comprehensible it is not always easy to understand what happens behind the scenes before the final vote is taken.

Reference to the Gramm-Rudman budget-balancing law alone cannot explain the current orgy of cuts.

The disjointed and high-handed action by Congress ignores international treaties and agreements in a manner unfamiliar to the European parliamentarianism.

Basic policy debates in Congress and their results are nevertheless related to European parliamentary system, as shown during the recent debates on South Africa, Nicaragua and the defence budget as a whole.

Governments in other parliamentary systems also lose a few of their feathers in the fray with the representatives of the people without toppling from power.

The role assumed by the Senate and the House of Representatives vis-à-vis the President, however, often resembles that of European Opposition parties.

The conflict between the President and Congress in embedded in the constitution and the country has become accustomed to it.

Congress procedure with its resultant "amendments" is mysterious indeed.

How these amendments come about and what kind of horse-trading leads to their existence is often so unfathomable that even professional Congress observers find themselves at a loss.

The amendments can disappear just as fast as they came. Both the mediation

Continued on page 4

Bonn running risk of becoming isolated on sanctions issue

The lights would go out in Mozambique, Botswana and Lesotho if South Africa decided to cut electricity supplies.

Some of the countries neighbouring South Africa depend totally on the South African electricity company, ESCOM.

This alone shows what problems sanctions against South Africa could bring if it decided to retaliate.

This is one reason why Bonn has been opposing sanctions. But the issue has now become a foreign policy problem.

Bonn might well find itself out on a limb now that both the British government and the US Senate have decided to take tougher lines on sanctions.

The CDU minister of state in the Foreign Office called for clear "signals" in Pretoria's direction.

The SPD's expert on Africa, Günther Verheugen, shares the opinion of the Catholic relief organisation Misereor that drastic sanctions are needed.

The FDP's national executive still feels that sanctions would be neither meaningful nor effective. Bonn no longer has very much room to manoeuvre in.

The final decision on sanctions will be taken within the framework of the European Community, and now that Britain's Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, has yielded to the pressure of her Commonwealth colleagues Bonn stands alone.

On 29 June the Council of Ministers of the heads of government of the European Community set Pretoria a three-month deadline to start negotiations with the banned African National Congress (ANC) and release its imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela.

Britain's Foreign Minister, Sir Geoffrey Howe, who presides over the European Community, returned empty-handed from a goodwill visit to southern Africa.

Since his return the situation has worsened.

Pretoria's government is only willing to negotiate if it potential Black negotiation partners first renounce violence.

When the deadline expires in September it will be the moment of truth for Bonn and the Europeans.

The Community's foreign ministers will meet on 6/7 September within the framework of their Political Cooperation and once again on 15/16 September in the Council of Ministers.

Beforehand, Chancellor Kohl will try and commit his cabinet to a united stance.

Both of these meetings, however, will be overshadowed by the American decision on sanctions.

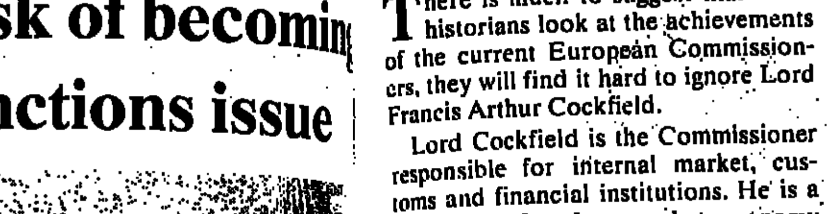
What kind of compromise can be expected when the two houses of the US parliament discuss the Senate's unambiguous vote for a tough line in mid-September?

Will President Reagan then, as announced, make use of his veto?

And could a two-thirds majority in the House of Representatives then be found to overturn his objection?

The government in Bonn would certainly be advised to support a coordinated approach by Europeans and the USA.

This would also be in the interests of the Black African states which would need help if sanctions are enforced.



General-Anzeiger

Pretoria has considerable means at its disposal to painfully bring the full weight of its superiority in southern Africa to bear on its neighbours.

Just a pull of the lever would turn off electricity.

There are also other forms of dependence:

- Deliberate bureaucratic obstacles when handling merchandise goods are already causing great difficulties for some countries.

90 per cent of Zimbabwe's and Mozambique's exports go through South African territory.

Soviet promises of support alone do not help.

- In the case of Botswana, Malawi and Mozambique the remittances of their 1.5 millions workers in South African mines, who would be hit hard by a European import ban, is a vital economic factor.
- Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi are totally dependent on South African transport channels.

Even Zaire would suffer in this respect.

Pretoria could also hit back at the Federal Republic of Germany if it opted for sanctions.

The West German steel industry, for example, is completely dependent on South Africa for certain alloy raw materials such as tantalum, valladium and beryllium.

South Africa is the only country which can supply these products.

The amounts it supplies, however, are not that significant for its own balance of trade.

The production of high-grade steel in the Federal Republic of Germany could be speedily paralysed by counterboycott measures, since, as opposed to the USA, it has no strategic reserves.

This is not the only example.

Bonn is faced by a difficult decision.

Regardless of which way the problem is viewed a weighing-up of moral aspects is also essential.

One thing is certain: resorting to half-hearted solutions is no longer the answer.

If Pretoria is to be pressurised into doing anything sanctions must be comprehensive and effective.

South Africa's leaders have never been impressed by half-measures by the West.

Wolf J. Bell

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 19 August 1986)

The German Tribune

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schoene Aussicht, D-2000 Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1, Telex: 02-14733.
Editor-in-chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. — Distribution manager: Georgine Picone.

Advertising rates list No. 15
Annual subscription DM 45

Printed by CW Niemeyer-Druck, Hameln.
Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.
Articles in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE are translated from the original text and published by agreement with leading newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address.

EUROPE

Free market champion seeks end to border controls

There is much to suggest that when historians look at the achievements of the current European Commissioners, they will find it hard to ignore Lord Francis Arthur Cockfield.

Lord Cockfield is the Commissioner responsible for internal market, customs and financial institutions. He is a champion of a free market economy system.

The German media almost automatically praise free-market buffs to the sky. But ironically, Lord Cockfield is almost totally unknown in this country.

The British vice-president of the Commission speaks no German and dislikes public appearances.

His declared objective of establishing an internal Community market without border controls has, strange as it may seem, run up against the opposition or at least scepticism of several politicians in Bonn's various ministries.

This would seem to contradict the fact that the Community's 12 heads of government have been saying time and time again since June last year that a borderless Europe should become reality by the end of 1992.

Lord Cockfield is unobtrusive. He has a gentle face and wears narrow, hornrimmed glasses. He is also over 70. But he surprises people with his energy.

Lord Cockfield received his title in 1978 as successful head of the British chemists' group Boots.

Labour politicians were up in arms against his nomination as European Community commissioner starting in January 1985.

They argued that Lord Cockfield was an "irremovable" member of the House of Lords, whereas Community commissioners are not allowed to hold national political office.

In the meantime, however, he has almost become the favourite of all those European politicians in Strasbourg who call for the "removal of border controls" as the European Community's major immediate objective.

On 16 June last year Lord Cockfield presented a White Paper on setting up of a common market.

He self-confidently maintained that this was possibly "the most important achievement of the Commission".

The White Paper has virtually become the bible of the Council of Ministers.

It not only emphasises that over 300 Council directives will be needed to achieve the common Community market without border controls, but also describes how this can be done by the end of 1992.

Ambitious plan

Each time a Community member country takes over the presidency of the Community on the traditional rotation basis a new schedule is drawn up.

Between 1 July, 1986, and 1 July, 1987, the Community's Council of Ministers is scheduled to pass 149 directives.

This is an ambitious plan, since there is currently a backlog of over seventy resolutions in comparison with the White Paper schedule.

Before all the controls on the Community's borders can be abolished, however, a bureaucratic obstacle race has to be run.

The first obstacle is the variety of national safety and health protection standards for consumers.

Lord Cookfield was lucky in this respect that the man responsible for the "internal market" before him, the German Community commissioner Karl-Heinz Narjes, had already cleared away some of the problems.

The previous Brussels approach of issuing directives for everything right down to tractor seats proved a never-ending task.

Now Brussels commissions existing industrial associations, such as the European Committee for Standardisation (CEN) and the European Committee for Electrotechnial Standardisation (CENELEC), to elaborate standards in their respective fields.

This approach has the advantage that the EFTA member states (Switzerland, Austria, Sweden, Norway and Finland), which have free trade agreements with the European Community, adopt the same standards right from the start.

The Council of Ministers has reached surprisingly speedy agreement in its recent negotiations with industry on standardisation in future-oriented fields such as television, the next generation of digital telephone computers, and telecommunications products.

In other fields there will only be general Community guidelines in future, e.g. toys.

Another important obstacle along the path to an internal market relates to food and drink regulations.

The Community Commission is still awaiting the decision of the European Court of Justice on the "purity regulations" for German and Greek beer.

This decision will probably have implications for the Italian wine vinegar regulations, the Italian and French legislation on pasta products ("semolina" only), cheese (40 per cent fat content in Italy, only from "pasteurised" milk in the Federal Republic of Germany), sausage meat (no vegetable fat in the Federal Republic etc.) and chocolate (with "fat content" in Britain, Ireland and Denmark).

The Commission's objective is that anything permitted in one member state should be permitted in the Community as a whole provided a label indicates the additives.

Chancellor Kohl has supported this line of argument for many years, "since German holidaymakers get on all right when they're abroad".

Bonn Agriculture Minister, Ignaz Kiechle, and his eleven Community colleagues, however, still think along mainly "national" lines.

A third important area for efforts to set up a common internal market relates to the right of firms to establish businesses in all Community states, the free movement of services, and the free movement of capital within the Community.

Progress has already been made with regard to the right of establishment.

It took sixteen years to find regulations for the freedom of movement of chemists in the Community.

According to Lord Cockfield "only sixteen more years" will be needed for architects.

As regards common educational standards agreement was recently reached on common guidelines for the medical training of general practitioners, guidelines which already became national law in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1985.

In the field of the free movement of insurance services insurance broker Franz Scheicher from Augsburg is currently taking legal action to obtain a landmark decision which may further the cause of free competition in the face of protective insurance business regulations in the Federal Republic of Germany and other Community member states.

Community judges also took action with regard to the free movement of transport services.

The Council of Tranport Ministers was criticised after legal action by the European Parliament for its inactivity, and another court decision emphasised that the rules of competition in the Treaty of Rome also apply to air traffic.

Although on other occasions the conservative-liberal government in Bonn is full of praise for "free competition", respective ministries in Bonn did not welcome the decisions of the Community's Court of Justice.

These decisions, however, have helped Lord Cockfield move closer to his objective of a Community-wide "market economy".

The biggest obstacle towards a borderless Community market is the harmonisation of taxes.

In the Commission's opinion commodities can only be supplied without controls between one Community country and another after 1993 if the rates of value added tax and of excise duties for

Frankfurter Rundschau

tobacco, alcohol and luxury goods are aligned to such an extent that the differences are no more than five per cent.

To achieve this the Federal Republic of Germany, Holland and Luxembourg would by and large have to raise their VAT and excise rates (and at the same time reduce their wage and income tax rates).

The corresponding tax rates of other Community members are currently well above the average.

A committee of financial experts came to the conclusion that this is impossible, one of the reasons being the differences in "tax morale".

The fact that the Council of Finance Ministers agreed in July that efforts must nevertheless be made to gradually achieve this objective must rank as a breakthrough.

Lord Cockfield knows that he will not see this happen during his period as commissioner. Yet he undauntingly fights for every step forward, no matter how small.

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 August 1986)

Daimler-Benz subsidy causes a row

DIE ZEIT

A subsidy for car maker Daimler-Benz is causing some embarrassment for the Bonn government.

The Baden-Württemberg *Land* government has promised the firm 120 million marks if it builds a plant at Rastatt — which, strangely enough, is in Baden-Württemberg.

Now the European Commission is asking Bonn for an explanation. It says there is no justification for the policy on regional assistance grounds. The Commission says it should have been asked to approve the subsidy.

Bonn has been a strong critic of other countries' subsidy habits in the past. It was one of the ringleaders in instigating legal action again Paris subsidies to French car maker Renault.

Daimler-Benz is based in Stuttgart, Baden-Württemberg's capital. The subsidy was officially said to be a structural policy measure for the development of building land.

But it seems nothing other than an enormous subsidy for one of the best earning industrial companies in a flourishing German state. And now this economically implausible move is becoming a political burden.

In the Renault case, Paris repeatedly granted subsidies to the state-run company and then called this an increase in share capital.

The Brussels Commission has now taken legal action against the state subsidy of three billion francs, which it claims is distorting competition.

Bonn was one of the main advocates of such a move.

State secretary Otto Schlecht reminded the government in Stuttgart that Bonn has repeatedly urged the Commission to control subsidies more strictly.

In Renault's case the company would have become economically inviable without the subsidy; in Daimler-Benz's case, however, a company which recorded a profit of DM1.7bn last year, Späth's subsidy gift will at most be seen as a friendly gesture.

In the eyes of Bonn Economics Minister Martin Bangemann, however, Späth's move must seem more like an unfriendly gesture. Only recently he called upon Brussels to enforce the common rules of conduct and stop the illegal subsidisation of the steel industry.

In principle Bangemann is quite right, since the Europeans have drawn up relatively precise regulations on steel with regard to what is and what is not allowed.

However, has he got a leg to stand on if his Community partners point out Bonn's own subsidisation "sins"?

Brussels has already criticised unreported subsidies to ailing textile companies.

The Commission is currently examining five such cases by various *Länder* (including Baden-Württemberg).

Bangemann has issued a warning to his Land colleagues:

"You will surely agree that we ... can no longer demand the transparency and control in the subsidisation policy pursued by Commission and at the same time give cause for critical inquiries by the Commission."

Of course, the Economics Minister is right. A double standard, however, one for an ailing textile company and one for a financially powerful car company should not be operated.

Klaus-Peter Schmid

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 22 August 1986)

PEOPLE IN POLITICS

Veteran MP who has seen them all come and go

If Richard Stücklen is re-elected to the Bundestag in the general election next year, he will be the only politician to hold a seat uninterrupted since parliament began sitting in Bonn in 1949. That year he was, at 33, the youngest member of that parliament.

Stücklen, who has turned 70, is member of parliament for Franconia, in Bavaria. Since he usually polls about 60 per cent of the vote in his electorate, he is unlikely to be voted out.

Stücklen has tremendous political stamina, much like his uncle, David, who was a MP in the Reichstag in Berlin for 30 years — but for the Social Democrats.

Franz Josef Strauß, the leader of the CSU paid tribute to his personal qualities some ten years ago.

His gift for skat and his love of football he said, "are just two external qualities of a political personality with a foxy sense of humour and a portion of real Bavarian cheerfulness which enables him to cope with any problem no matter how serious".

He is also a chess player and likes hunting.

Stücklen's football interest is limited mainly to F.C. Nuremberg. He owes his passion for skat to a small group of selected CSU players with whom he played when he was President (Speaker) of the Bundestag between 1979 and 1983.

In those days, Stücklen's beer cellar in Bonn was subject to many a nighttime lightning raid.

The Hamburg SPD politician Herbert Wehner, once called him a black man of honour — though it was not clear whether he was complimenting the man or was abusing him for his conservative politics. (In German political jargon, the blacks are the conservatives).

When Stücklen became Speaker, it was the highest office a Bavarian had reached in the post-war Parliament. During his acceptance speech, he put aside his text and said he had not been so nervous since asking his wife to marry him in 1943.

This brought the house down with applause from all quarters.

Stücklen has an egaging irrestible joviality which cuts across party political lines. When he occasionally sounds off in his lumberjack style, people don't take offence. This popularity is part of the reason for his election as Speaker with bigger majorities than his predecessor and successor.

Much like the Caliphs of Bagdad, Stücklen has for some time been called the Harun el Richard. He acquired this

Hannoversche Allgemeine

name when he was Minister of Posts and Telegraphs between 1957 and 1966. He used to surprise people by turning up unexpectedly to inspect even the most *insignificant of offices.*

It is almost forgotten that Stücklen while still a young parliamentarian was made father in 1950 of the handicrafts ordinance with which the system of legally controlled craftsmens chambers with powers to examine and award master craftsmen's diplomas were re-established.

Stücklen is the son of a master locksmith who was also mayor of the Bavarian centre of Heidecke.

After an apprenticeship as a locksmith and as an electrician he became an electrical engineer.

In 1943 he became departmental head at AEG in Freiberg in Saxony (in what today is East Germany).

The occupying Soviets made deputy head of the works in 1945 but he then left for the West and the parent firm.

Directly after this he became one of the founders of the CSU and the Young Union in the constituency of Hilpoltstein.

From 1953 to 1957 Stücklen was the deputy head of the CDU/CSU faction in Bonn. In 1966 he stood down as Minister of Posts in favour of Werner Dollinger, a Protestant. In those days, everything was ordered in strict proportion.

From 1966 to 1976 he was head of the CSU *Land* group and head of the parliamentary group.

Then he became deputy Speaker. In 1979 he became Speaker. In 1983, in Opposition, he became deputy again. He is chairman of the parliamentary building commission.

He is privately involved in the BMS (the S stands for Stücklen) engineering company KG.

Rudolf Strauch

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 19 August 1986)



Richard Stücklen . . . from boy to elder statesman in 37 years in the Bundestag. (Photo: Sven Sir...)

Continued from page 2

committee and the presidential veto can overturn them. It is also possible that a second vote is taken on an amendment, a strong probability, for example, on the chemical weapons issue.

With a vote of 210-209 the losers are bound to feel that a little gentle persuasion during the coming weeks might make them tomorrow's victors.

This is a possibility the Europeans, especially the West Germans, must bank on.

However, as Manfred Wörner's letter of admonition showed they need not just sit back and do nothing.

Hans-Wilhelm Vahlefeld

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 22 August 1986)

Frankfurt's new mayor has a banking ambition to fulfil

Frankfurt's new mayor, Wolfram Brück, has one special aim: to get the city to overtake London as Europe's largest banking centre.

Brück, 49, a long-serving Christian Democrat politician, has been in charge of Frankfurt's legal authority. He succeeds Walter Wallmann, who joins the Bonn Cabinet as Germany's first Environment Minister.

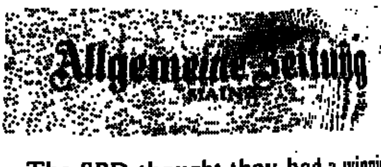
Brück's election came as no surprise. The CDU has an absolute majority in Frankfurt and this was a reason for the SPD deciding not to offer a candidate after their first choice, Volker Hauff, declined to stand.

The Green party put forward Daniel Cohn Bendit, or "red Danny" as he is often called because of his leading role in the 1968 student agitation. He had no chance.

Brück now has the difficult task of stepping out from behind his predecessor's shadow, whose departure left many tearful with memories of his successful city policies.

In comparison to Cohn-Bendit whose candiditure, in view of the make-up of the city assembly was a lost cause, Brück is no showman.

He had the reputation of being a hardworking reliable background man who could get things done.



The SPD thought they had a winning candidate, especially as they believed some CDU members not happy with Brück's nomination would support them.

But Hauff, who at one stage was being talked about as an alternative to Johannes Rau as candidate for Chancellor, decided he did not want to spoil his image by coming out a loser in mayoral elections.

As a result Brück was able to be presented practically risk-free as a communal politician.

The 49-year-old Brück earned his first spurs as adviser to Wallmann in 1974 when he was a Bonn Member of Parliament and chairman of the committee investigating the Guillaume spy affair which brought down Willy Brandt.

Brück became chairman of his district CDU branch. In 1977 the *CDU* got an absolute majority for the first time in the Frankfurt assembly. Brück was give the job of party whip, getting members toe the party line. It was not easy, given the clashes of personal opinions and interests.

The *Land* government is a mixture of SPD and Green, a red-green alliance and they and the unions were to become Brück's adversaries.

As the man in charge of Frankfurt's legal authority, he occasionally ended up in political brawls with them.

Brück's attitude to both the unions and the *Land* government has earned him a reputation as a hard liner. Many doubt whether he has the diplomatic gifts of Walter Wallman, who in at least won respect from the opposition.

Brück wants to be a Mayor of all the people just as much as his predecessor was. He will have difficulty though collecting enough successes before the next local government elections.

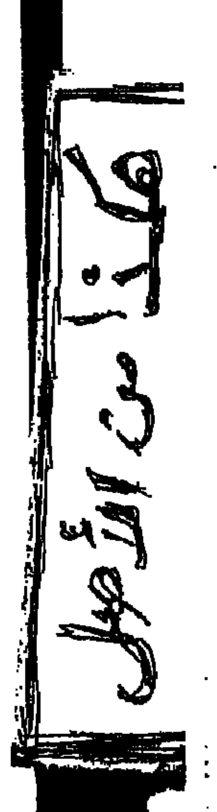
Many much-praised projects such as the re-building of the old opera house, Römerberg-Bebauung and the banks of the museum were already finished during Wallmann's period in office.

Günther Leicher

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 15 August 1986)



Wolfram Brück (left) and his predecessor, Walter Wallmann. (Photo: dpa)



PERSPECTIVE

Boat people affair likely to stiffen views on refugees

A world-wide search is being mounted for a 425-ton coastal freighter, Aurigae, and its owner, Wolfgang Bindel. Bindel is alleged to have smuggled 154 Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka out of West Germany and to have dumped them six miles off the Newfoundland coast in lifeboats. The head of Hamburg's criminal police, Dieter Heering, said Bindel is thought to have received at least 700,000 marks. The evidence is that the Tamils paid 5,000 marks each. Another 38 who had also paid are reported to have been left behind when the ship left before they arrived. A shipyard owner at Brake, on the Weser river near Bremerhaven in north Germany, said the Aurigae's fuel tanks had been enlarged at the yard and three lifeboats and 150 lifebelts had been brought on board.

The affair of the Tamil boat people is likely to harden the attitude of people in this country who already regard the flood of refugees as economically rather than politically inspired.

At first, there was compassion when the 154 were discovered adrift off the Newfoundland coast. But after it became apparent that they had not been fleeing directly from persecution in Sri Lanka but had come indirectly through West Germany, where they had applied for asylum, attitudes became much harder.

Few in this country will now be too concerned about their fate. Even people with liberal attitudes will begin to doubt themselves.

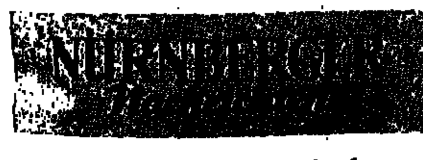
The lives of the Tamils were not in danger in West Germany. Their basic needs were being taken care of. Despite this, they chose to say they were political refugees — yet their real aim must have been to find a better life in Canada than the life they imagined waited for them in West Germany.

The liberal asylum laws in the Federal Republic have been misused. The 154 Tamils have also done a clear disservice to their fellow Sri Lankans and other asylum-seekers from the Third World. They are all likely to be indiscriminately lumped together.

Another factor of course is that they have been victims of unscrupulous profiteers — profiteers with good contacts in West Germany.

The 154 Tamils may find that their worst fears and not their dream of a better future will now come true.

Like the Federal Republic, Canada is not keen on absorbing asylum appli-



cants who have already found safety and accommodation in a democratic country.

The authorities in Montreal may well decide to send the Tamils back to the Federal Republic.

If Bonn refuses re-entry the refugees may be repatriated — and there is nothing they fear more.

In many cases professional rings which specialise in channelling refugees into countries where they stand a chance of being granted asylum are responsible for gambling with the fate of refugees.

The asylum problem would be a lot less serious if such profit-hungry rings did not exist.

Their organisers find ideal "business conditions" in many countries.

Who can blame the father of a Lebanese family for grasping any opportunity to get out of a country torn by civil war?

Clearly, Iranians prefer to flee from the regime of the ayatollahs rather than be sent to the slaughter in an endless war against Iraq.

Clearly many Indians, Pakistanis or Turks long for a better life away from poverty.

Regardless of the differing motives these desires to flee have one things in common: they would be no more than a vague hope were it not for the rings and their promises to fulfil the dreams of many with the magic word "asylum".

These "people-runners" sell happiness in a package deal, the plane ticket, the forged passport, the asylum application and the costs for a German lawyer included in the price.

Even though someone from India may not be able to read and write and has never heard about the Federal Republic of Germany and its Basic Law he soon becomes familiar with the word "asylum", without really understanding what it means.

No-one would object to what these rings do if their action really was a service to humanity. But it is not.

The fact that DM5,000 or more is often charged means that "customers" often have to sacrifice everything they and their family own.

The asylum seekers

Applicants in West Germany: 1978 33136; '79 51493; '80 107818; '81 49391; '82 37423; '83 19737; '84 35278; '85 73832; 1986 ca. 100000

Land of origin in %, first half 1986: Lebanon 21; Iran 18; Turkey 10; Poland 9; India 8; Ghana 7; Sri Lanka 4; Afghanistan 4; Others 19

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To justify the high price a distorted picture of life in the Federal Republic is depicted.

Berlin authorities, for example, came across a document written in Arabic, which informed asylum-seekers from Lebanon how to deal with German authorities and which contained the following promise:

"Every family is given a room to sleep in, the room is big. They give you food and even do the cleaning . . . Everything is better than in Lebanon."

The would-be refugees then discover what accommodation and treatment is really like in the German refugee camps.

By the time they realise that they stand little chance of official recognition as refugees and of being able to permanently stay in the Federal Republic it is too late.

The misery of those who are then repatriated and have lost all their money in an effort to be granted asylum is then worse than before.

A campaign by the Bonn government to inform potential asylum applicants about West German realities in their native countries is a step in the right direction in efforts to put a stop to the organised refugee swindle.

This, however, will take time and is unlikely to pacify those who would prefer to tighten up the laws governing the granting of asylum in the Federal Republic.

Nevertheless, solving the problem at its roots is better than having to cope with its after-effects.

Diplomatic initiatives by Bonn are not enough.

Anyone who wishes to stem the flow of the refugees who leave their countries for economic reasons must also tackle its main cause: poverty.

This in turn means that more West German development aid must be provided.

Joachim Hauck

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 18 August 1986)

East Berlin won't stop fugitive flood

East Berlin is refusing to prevent asylum-seekers arriving from Third World countries in East European airliners from going through to West Berlin.

The East German authorities know they have the whip hand. Any controls of the flood of refugees from Iran, Pakistan, Lebanon or Ghana would amount to recognising of the boundary between the two parts of Berlin as an international border.

It is an almost absurd twist of fate that the Berlin Wall, which is this year 25 years old, has become a gateway for these refugees yet remain a prison fence for East Germans who want to travel in the same direction.

If East Germany wanted to, the flow of asylum applicants would slow and the result would be an easing of the asylum problem in West Germany. But why should East Germany do anything?

It now has an excellent reason to question the status of Berlin. So East Berlin and Moscow are unlikely to help West Berlin and Bonn.

As the president of the Bundestag, Philipp Jenninger, pointed out, the GDR cannot be accused of violating international legal norms, at least not formally.

The refugee and asylum problem, therefore, is, at least for the time being, a West German problem.

Wagging the finger at East Berlin will not help solve it and only opens up old wounds.

It certainly does not help the cities and municipalities in the Federal Republic of Germany cope with the flow of asylum-seekers.

Even if the Berlin loophole were to be sealed up the refugees would still find some other way of coming.

The increase during recent years in the number of refugees from the world's crisis areas hoping for a better life in richer countries is a Europe-wide problem.

The Europeans respond by tightening up their laws so as to make it more difficult or even impossible for refugees to enter their countries.

The "boat is full up", they cry, even though the influx of refugees has never been great enough in any European country to warrant talk of a threat.

The more the Europeans close their borders, the more the have-nots and job-seekers from poorer countries will clutch at the last straw in Berlin to gain entry to a world of prosperity.

For years experts have urged authorities to deal with asylum applications faster, but on average it still takes five years before a case has been examined.

A speeding up of examination procedure would not only provide more places to stay in the refugee camps, but would also clear up the bureaucratic backlog of authorities dealing with foreigners.

Once streams of refugees start moving they are difficult to stop.

It is certainly no easy task to distinguish between persons who can be classed as "politically persecuted" in accordance with the Geneva Refugee Convention and "economic refugees".

However, violence and oppression do not jeopardise human life in all the countries of origin of these refugees.

In the case of certain nationalities asylum has never been granted.

It is fair to ask whether five years are needed before a decision is taken on an application for asylum by an Indian, Turk, Ghanaian or even Pole.

In the long term, however, there are no means of getting a grip on the refugee problem.

The rich countries of this world must realise that, in view of the 10 million refugees worldwide, the number of those who knock on their doors is minute.

Last year the Bonn Foreign Ministry introduced an initiative in the United Nations aimed at preventive measures against flows of refugees.

This is an ambitious, perhaps too ambitious a task in view of the reasons which force millions of people in the Third World to leave their native countries.

Only those who do not themselves suffer the fate of a refugee can simply sit back and accept this fact.

Franz Smets

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 11 August 1986)

Industrialised countries must make sacrifices by opening up their markets to goods from the Third World and ending subsidies of farm produce surpluses, says the annual report of the Ministry for Economic Cooperation.

The Minister, Jürgen Warnke (CSU) says the cut-price exports of meat by the European Community to West Africa and South America mean that the cattle farmers there are unable to sell their meat.

Whole cattle farming projects financed by development aid money just peter out.

Up to now, Warnke, who has been in office since 1982, always emphasised that the North was by no means responsible for the situation in the South.

Church organisation and independent development aid organisations have long since felt that the business practices of the industrialised countries have caused the problems the Third World faces today.

Is the Minister for Economic Cooperation now supporting this line of argument or is he just putting a new wrapping round his old policies?

His review of 1985 refers to a "reorientation".

The declared objective is that developing countries learn to help themselves.

The annual report says:

- Development policy must primarily benefit the poorest of the poor (27.8 per cent of development aid went to the least developed countries).

Emphasis should therefore be on satisfying basic needs, improving the food supply situation, and environmental protection.

- Development policy must help safeguard jobs in the domestic economy, i.e. special attention should be given to the *principle of job creation and/or security together with various export* promotion programmes.
- Industrialised countries should do more to reduce protectionism, speed up their economic growth and pursue more rigid budgetary policies.
- Developing countries should create the conditions needed for the effective use of public aid (e.g. more market, less government), seeking a "Political Dialogue" with the Bonn government.

To begin with, this all sounds very reasonable; no social emotionalism, but nothing new.

All private relief organisations and all governmental development aid organisations have always taken "help towards self-help" as their motto.

This makes sense, even if the actual situation may be a lot different in individual projects.

A well-worn idea is now being sold as a new insight.

The theoreticians in the Ministry for Economic Cooperation, however, have no intention of developing a new idea.

The Ministry's secretary of state Volkmar Köhler even pats the Ministry on the back for its relative lack of initiative:

"The days of grand ideas in development policy are gone once and for all," he said.

The new pragmatism hides old remedies.

More growth back home and more competition on the world market, the basic argument runs, will automatically help developing countries.

Past experience, however, has show that growth in industrialised countries can quite easily be accompanied by impoverishment in poorer countries.

Contrary to the theory of free trade, the prosperity gains do not trickle down from the more prosperous to the less prosperous.

■ THE THIRD WORLD

West must open up markets, says ministry report

The disillusionment about the fact that growth alone was no guarantee for development resulted in the propagation of the strategy of satisfying basic needs during the 1970s.

The idea was that industrialised countries should initially ensure that all people in developing countries have food, clothing and shelter and that basic educational and health services are provided.

Food first, personality development later.

The satisfaction of basic needs strategy still remains despite Minister Warnke's reorientation.

It is difficult to make out exactly which forms of assistance his new programme would like to see.

The statistics of the Ministry's report do not show how much of the DM8,7bn development aid figure went to the poorest of the poor.

However, DM1.25bn falls under the category of funds to fight poverty.

With blunt frankness the Minister's report does answer the crucial question of whom development policy should really be helping.

Development policy should, it says, primarily benefit the German people, not the many starving people and indebted nations of the Third World.

After all, Warnke swore in his ministerial oath to increase the prosperity of the German people.

Development aid also helped do this *in the past, i.e. political* "friends" were rewarded and markets were developed abroad for the business of domestic firms.

The difference is that no-one admitted this fact in the past.

A large share of development aid funds flows into projects designed to improve the "material infrastructure", a general terms for dams, roads, railway networks and power plants, but also digital telephone facilities.

Even though Warnke wants to fight inefficiency some of the large-scale projects have proved inappropriate for the countries in question.

At least German companies benefitted from these projects.

Every power plant and every car is only then financed by German money if a German company is awarded the contract.

The positive impact of this policy on employment is bound to find the support of all employers and trade unionists in the Federal Republic of Germany, since it creates and safeguards job for the domestic economy.

Recently, however, German industry has not shown much interest in the Ministry's promotion measures.

In 1985 the Third World accounted for only 2.3 per cent of foreign investments, whereas the corresponding figure two years ago was 30 per cent.

Investments in Third World countries are no longer profitable, since the markets there are drying up.

What is more, the debt crisis has left many countries without money for German products.

The Third World's total foreign exchange debt worldwide has now reached the inconceivable figure of DM2,000bn.

Warnke has realised how questionable a development policy is which is primarily geared to the short-term interests of the domestic economy.

Developing countries which are bankrupt can no longer help safeguard jobs in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Warnke, therefore, calls for fair trading conditions.

Fair trade can indeed help the raw materials exporters and newly industrialising countries in the Third World.

To begin with, it helps reduce their mountain of debt.

The best way to help these countries in their production of meat, fabrics, clothes, tools as well as electronics products, however, is to open up our markets to these goods.

In the long run hunger in the Third World can only be overcome if the markets of these countries are not flooded by cheap food products from industrialised countries.

Warnke's praiseworthy initiative points in this direction.

The next round of negotiations on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in Uruguay in autumn and the next agricultural policy *negotiations of the European Community will* show whether there is a response to this strategy.

Developing *countries* themselves, however, are more far-reaching.

They want more protection against the all-too-powerful business partners, more stable world market prices and preferential treatment for their exports.

Via a new international order they hope for a greater say in the international division of labour.

Minister Warnke, however, is opposed to these demands and would prefer direct talks (political dialogue) where it is clear who calls the tune.

Sabine Haupt

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 10 August 1986)

Minister spells out the harsh realities

Anyone who works on development aid projects today needs plenty of idealism and zest.

Whether in Manila, Ouagadougou or Mexico City, the situation is depressing.

Poverty is growing, the successes of voluntary overseas workers are becoming more and more modest, and the setbacks more and more frequent.

Roads and factories which were once built with grand objectives are falling into disrepair.

Literacy campaigns are making little headway and doctors are unable to provide the help needed in hospitals because of the lack of medicines.

The ambitious plans drawn up between the governments of Third World countries and their development policy advisers in the 1960s and 1970s have long since been forgotten.

Today, developing countries in South-East Asia, Africa and Latin America are content to be able to keep their international creditors at bay for a few months more.

Big spending on factory repairs and irrigation plants, teachers' salaries, schoolbooks and medical supplies is a thing of the past.

National treasuries are empty and the foreign exchange debts of Third World countries have reached the inconceivable figure of roughly DM2,000,000 million.

Bonn Minister for Economic Cooperation, Jürgen Warnke, quite rightly pointed out during the presentation of his ministry's 1985 budget that industrialised countries can no longer just content themselves with handing out development aid.

Last year the Federal Republic of Germany transferred just under DM9bn to the Third World — partly in the form of grants and partly in the form of cheap loans.

The corresponding figure for western industrialised countries as a whole last year is probably round about DM60bn.

This is no more than a pittance in view of the current level of indebtedness.

Warnke showed his courage, therefore, when he self-critically remarked than developing countries should be given the opportunity to earn money themselves.

This, he emphasised, is more important than merely providing financial support.

Europeans in particular could do more in this respect.

What is the point of his ministry supporting a cattle-breeding farm on the Ivory Coast, Warnke asked, if at the same time the market in the country's capital Abidjan is inundated with cheap meat (due to subsidies) from Europe?

Local farmers in such a situation have no chance whatsoever of proving their worth.

The production of a ton of beef in Africa and South America costs $1,200; in Europe the price is twice as high.

Nevertheless, surplus European meat is sold on international markets at a dumping price of $1,000.

How can developing countries earn more foreign exchange and free themselves from poverty in the face of such unfair competition?

The list of sins of industrialised countries — including the United States — is long.

Regardless of how much they boast about their aid to the Third World, the same countries pretend not to hear when asked to provide real support by opening up their domestic markets for sugar, meat, fabrics, shoes or basic electronics products from Kenya, Bangladesh and Brazil.

The motto is: handouts fine, but fair trading practices, no thanks!

The interests of domestic farmers and manufacturers are then always given priority, even if unprofitable production has to be subsidised.

The fact that a German development minister has at least hinted that development aid is used as an alibi is commendable.

An alibi which covers up the fact that the kind of support which the Third World really needs is missing.

Will anyone heed Warnke's call?

When economics ministers from industrialised and developing countries meet in a few weeks time in Uruguay for a new round of Gatt negotiations on international trading practices, tariffs and protectionism an answer may be found.

The prospects for developing countries, however, do not look good.

Irene Mayer-List

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 1 August 1986)

■ COMMERCIAL FISHING

Customs patrols battle against currents in pursuit of quota-busting fleets

Dutch and Danish fishing boats in the North Sea often exceed their European Community quota. And even when the boats are inside German waters, German patrols can usually do very little. Even the sight of a machine gun is not enough. "Put it away. It's not 1945 any more", is a common enough retort from fishermen. When patrols do catch up with a fishing boat, they still have to persuade the captain to allow them to check the tackle and the fish catch. All customs boats are equipped with machine guns since 1980 as the result of a Bonn instruction after repeated incidents. But using them is usually out of the question: German law places much greater emphasis on the protection of life than on fishing rights.

Every time the new fishing season begins in April customs and fishing control authorities are confronted by the problem of how to control fishing boats in the North and Baltic Seas.

Thanks to increased control checks the number of cases in which West German patrol boats are obliged to chase Dutch, Danish and German fishing boats has declined.

These incidents hit the national headlines at the beginning of the eighties.

The row and its diplomatic complications, however, is far from over.

This became clear following the latest incident. Although the captain of the Dutch cutter Twee Gebroeder allowed two officials from the patrol boat Eider on board he then raced off towards Helgoland with the two still on board. The German captain had wanted to take the boat into port to be controlled.

The Eider, with its lack of engine power, was left standing.

A Federal Border Guard boat took up the chase off the coast of Helgoland and eventually managed to stop the Dutch cutter.

The nets were seized and the hold sealed up.

German fishermen are particularly annoyed about the fact that the chains of the tackle of Dutch fishing boats rip up the seabed and scare the flatfish, such as sole and plaice, into their nets.

Because of the speed of these cutters the fish cannot escape.

The nets are so closely meshed that under-sized fish are caught as well. That means the following season that German nets are empty.

One Dutchman simply bought back the cutch of sole seized by the German authorites, which gives an idea of how lucrative the sale of sole is.

When chasing "robbers", however, one weapon has proved effective: the chemical mace.

"If we use that," said Uwe Hansen, captain on the patrol boat Helgoland based in Büsum, "the fishermen do everything we tell them to."

It's then easier to get the officials on board the fishing boats.

The big Dutch cutters (engine power: 2,400 hp) have to be approached from the stern by the German patrol boats, which almost look like nutshells in comparison.

This is the only way of enabling the customs officials to jump on board without endangering life and limb.

The tricks already begin on board.

Only cutters with less than a certain gross registered tonnage and a certain braking horsepower are allowed to fish within the twelve-mile zone.

But do the papers issued by the Dutch authorities really correspond to the actual size of the cutter?

Many patrol officials are wary of these papers after seeing locked loading rooms and in view of the throttled engines.

If a robber is caught in the net of the German fishing authority or customs a high price has to be paid.

The catch is seized and the fishing equipment dismantled in a German harbour.

This can cost up to DM25,000.

One of the problems of the fishing skirmishes within the European Community, however, has been remedied.

It is no longer permissible to process the fish on board immediately after it has been caught.

This was often done by Danish fishing boats.

By the time customs officials arrived the fish had been processed and the ingredients of the resultant "soup" were no longer identifiable.

Customs authorities, however, feel that things will improve during the next few years.

The patrol fleet is to be stocked up with more modern boats.

It will then be possible to catch up with the bigger fishing boats trying to evade control checks.

At the moment, all customs officials can often do is watch a group of dots move rapidly in a westerly direction on the radar screen when they appear on the scene.

So far it has been difficult to prove whether the big cutters caught their fish within the twelve-mile zone.

"Without a clear determination of the boats' positions," Uwe Hansen points out, "we can't prove anything in the courts."

All control authorities agree that the patrol boats must be permanently in action at sea.

Patrol boat operations are coordinated in a central control room in Cuxhaven in such a way as to make it impossible for the unitiated to discover when and where boats are on patrol.

The "robber" fishing boats must never be lulled into a false sense of security.

Georg Bauer

(Die Welt, Bonn, 20 August 1986)

■ THE WORKFORCE

More women throwing in their job to become their own boss

Every third new commercial undertaking is set up by a woman. Every fifth firm is run by a woman. Women are showing a growing tendency to go out on their own. Men are not to the same extent. Sabine Schuchart, of *Die Welt*, examines some of the reasons why.

Over the past few years more and more women have dared to make the leap and become self-employed. Estimates show that in North-Rhine Westphalia alone 40,000 women a year go into business on their own.

A Bonn business research institute says that according to the companies register every third new company is now established by a woman.

In recent years there has been a sharp increase in the number of women registering their own companies.

Edith Flach, 45, has her own carpet-and-paint business in Duisdorf, a Bonn suburb. She said: "Often it took two years in my last job before I could get my boss to introduce a new line. And in the end it usually paid off."

Now Frau Flach, the mother of two grown-up daughters, has her own 400 square metres of sales space and can introduce her new ideas when she wants to.

Cornelia Schahnazarian went self-employed when she gave up her job as a photographer in the Cologne Rheingalerie in April.

She now has her own business with "CS Photo Studios" displayed in large letters over the doorway.

For this 32-year-old, going self-employed also meant independence from her boyfriend who works in advertising.

The chance of earning more money was also an attraction but, she said, "you have to do a lot more work and put up with more stress."

That so many women go self-employed today indicates that a backlog had built up over the years.

Up to the 1960s a typical women head of a company was usually an heiress. She had to run the business she had inherited from a father or a husband.

A survey carried out for the Berlin senator for economic affairs showed that today a large proportion of companies run by women are operations with a small turnover and few employees.

Women who run large companies, such as Jil Sander who is head of a large fashion design house, or Viola Hallmann, who heads a Hagen steel firm that employs 1,000, are the exception rather than the rule.

But the union of business women in Cologne estimates that a fifth of the 3.2 million companies in the Federal Republic are run by women.Every other women who sets up a company with state aid goes into commerce. Preferred sectors are textiles, clothing and leather goods.

Many more women now than before go into trades, the main sector being hair-dressing.

Fewer women than men apply for state aid for a company they want to establish in the service industries, transport or manufacturing.

But the chamber of trade and industry reports that even here, speaking quite generally, a change is coming about.

A spokesman for the chamber said: "Soon women will be going into business in sectors that are unheard-of at the present."

Christa Coerper, in her forties, has shown that a women needs to have a lot of guts to take on some businesses.

She is the only women in the Federal Republic who runs a BP petrol station — in Düsseldorf. She has apparently been so good at it that she has opened up opportunities for other women.

She employs ten and said that at the beginning she had to think long and hard about taking on the station. "It has been a male preserve," she said, "but in small ways it is becoming obvious that we can work just as well as the men."

Surprisingly self-employed women rarely complain about difficulties put in their way. They rarely complaint that they have to put in more than a man to compete with men, which is a never-ending complaint among employed women.The most frequent complaint heard from women who run their own businesses is the difficulties they have with their workers, suppliers, clients and negotiating parties. These expect women managers to have much more tact and sensitivity than male bosses.

Edeltraut Schmidt, who runs a small metal workshop employing 12 in Siegburg, had a lot to say on this from her experiences in the building industry.

It was assumed in contract talks that she would "swallow anything" although she actually felt she wanted to thump the desk.

In her experience a woman who wants to get on well with her colleagues in business must "look right." She said: "The male is still king even if he is only professionally good."

Frau Schmidt, 41, said that after her training period she worked a lot on her own and by 26 she was a manageress in a building firm with the firm's power of attorney.

"You need to have ambition, a lot of optimism and an even temper so that you don't get worn down in the daily battle with old and respectable , firms to get new contracts in the overcrowded building industry in this country," she said. Before taking this step women have to think the matter over far more carefully than men need to do. Women have a built-in conflict before they even begin because they are not trained to run a company. Sabine Huth described the problem by saying: "At times qualities such as being tough and aggressive are called for, qualities that are not part of the traditional image of a woman."

Gas without the gaiters. Christa Coerper at her service station.
(Photo: Klemens Möllenbeck)

Women still have a complex that they will be stamped as hard-boiled career women or "masculine."

Women who start up their own business conceal as far as possible vital qualities such as ambition and aspirations for power, and it is generally regarded that a business woman should not subordinate family to her business interests.

Edeltraut Schmidt, who is unmarried, *said: "How can I expect a husband to* welcome home a wife, totally worn out, at ten in the evening?"

On the other hand many men regard it as a matter of course that they have to stay late at work.

Despite increasing career-orientation among women and better training, women who wish to plan a career as self-employed are more the exception than the rule.

This step into a business life is usually the result of external pressures; unemployment, proportionately there are more working women jobless than men, and because they find obstacles in their way for promotion.

A job consultant said: "Many highly-qualified women are forced into self-employment because of their poor promotion chances. They do it out of need and are thus that much more determined."

Sabine Huth had the problem in her job of "not being about to subordinate myself.

She was for many years a reporter for West German Radio, but her health gave up, due to "over-work and far too much stupid stress." She was able to reflect about her situation in a hospital bed.

Sabine, 35, decided in 1984 to set herself up as an independent film-producer. She resigned *from the secure post* she had with the radio station.

Her friends were neither for or against her decision; but her parents and relatives were appalled.

During her first year she suffered a psychological and financial shock when she lost DM40,000 on a video-film.

Nevertheless she feels she has done the right thing and would never consider returning to be a contracted employee again.

Her nine-year-old daughter has gained from the change because Sabine works at home a lot, at least a lot more than she did previously. She said: "I can divide up my time now better and I am much more strongly motivated."

All women who go into business on their own account wish that they could have more contract with like women, more opportunities to exchange views with one another. Women in America have known for a long time how valuable contacts can be and American men have made good use of them. German women have now come to realise that it pays off to nurture contacts.

There are about 1,700 business women in the union of business women, based in Cologne.

According to the union's statutes a women member must control a company with a turnover of at least one million marks or employ at least five, although exceptions have already been made to new recruits to the union.

Members, according to the union's brochure, want "to give each other encouragement in a relaxed atmosphere and develop a feminine style of leadership."

Head of the union Eva Odehnal is convinced that "If women make up their minds to go self-employed they must be particularly tough and can motivate the employees under them far better than men can do." *Sabine Schuchart*

(Die Welt, Bonn, 13 August 1986)

Government commissions study into sexual harassment

The first comprehensive study into sexual harassment of women at work is being made for the Federal Minister for Family Affairs.

The Ministry telephone hasn't stopped ringing since news of the study was revealed.

Many of the callers are women who want to describe their own experiences.

But some callers are men who ask why the problem of sexual advances by career-hungry women is not also being dealt with.

Renate Augstein, an official in the Ministry's women's affairs department, admits that some women deliberately use their sexuality at work and that this annoys somemen.

But the problem of overtly sexual advances is one which primarily faces women.

In London the first "Organisation for the Protection of Men in the Office" has been set up.

The organisation claims that many sex-hungry women almost hunt down their male office colleagues.

It demands that sexual provocation by women in skintight jeans and revealing blouses should be sufficient grounds for dismissal.

An American study has shown that there are many women executives who make sexual demands on men in junior positions.

"As in the Federal Republic of Germany there are still a lot more men than women in key positions," Hanne Pollmann, the secretary of the German Women's Council in Bonn explains, "the problem mainly affects women."

"Many women have turned to us for advice," she adds. "But even more suffer in silence for fear of losing their jobs."

It is a known fact a rebuff to the advances made by men in a senior position can have adverse effects on women's jobs.

Following an initiative by the Wom-

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■ TRANSPORT

Car makers look to computers to make driving safer and cleaner



European car makers believe that more than half of all road accidents could be avoided if motorists reacted a fraction quicker.

Better vehicles are not the answer to snatching back that crucial fraction of a second, says a joint statement by 13 of Europe's leading car makers.

But the industry does believe that advances in electronics will improve driving: manufacturers are working on computer-assisted driving systems which will enable drivers to cope with awkward situations.

One result of such efforts is the Anti-Blocking System (ABS), where an "*expert strategy*" stored on a microchip helps *master* difficult braking manoeuvres.

Despite or perhaps because of the *initial* successes of these efforts it soon became clear that they would not achieve their final objective.

The big leap forward in the safety, environmental compatibility and relief of traffic systems requires the "pan-European" efforts of car manufacturers, electronics companies, subcontractors and research institutions.

This today is the conviction of the car industry.

An "integrated overall system", it feels, should take the place of the previously secretive efforts of individual projects.

It is no coincidence that the impetus to do some rethinking in this field came from Daimler-Benz in Stuttgart.

The company has just recovered from the disputes in Europe over standard vehicle emission levels, has the setting up of a technology company ahead of it and the research-intensive Japanese and American competitors breathing down its neck.

Daimler-Benz feels that a solution to the general problems of individual road traffic must be found.

A major aim is improve the competitiveness of the Europeans and counter the often contradictory European transport policies by promoting a forward-looking strategy for the car industry.

These arguments not only convinced German competitors such as BMW, Volkswagen and Porsche, but also manufacturers in France, Britain, Italy and Sweden.

Prometheus, the name of a motor industry research project approved of by 18 heads of government two months ago, has already become a programme.

According to Greek mythology Prometheus gave fire to mankind and thus enabled a higher level of technology and culture.

The car industry shares such ambitious goals.

In its description of this project it claims that "the aim is no less than a higher level of organisation, indeed of the culture of traffic."

Before this level is reached, however, painstaking efforts are needed to decide where the journey leads.

The key feature of collaboration is the development of standard specifications, which can then above all help the electronics industry's research activities.

The practical use of findings is then again subject to the forces of competition.

Specific proposals for a traffic system which will provide motorists with information evaluated by computers in their cars and perhaps relayed via satellite will be forwarded at the end of an eight-month development phase starting in October.

It is hoped that this system will show the motorist how to avoid traffic jams and help prevent motorway pile-ups.

Every driver would also be informed about the next place to park, the next hotel and the next petrol station as well as the fastest way to reach his destination.

The combination of route and vehicle computers, it is hoped, will result in a "balanced use of traffic space and thus prevent traffic jams", whereas the orientation aids will help prevent stress and detours.

Accidents at crossroads and when overtaking might also be prevented if the driver's field of view is extended via electronics.

Research projects for the vehicle itself, therefore, are no less spectacular.

It is quite conceivalbe, say the car manufacturers, that in future electronic devices will take over certain motoring tasks.

Not only will the car automatically keep its distance from the vehicle in front, but there are also plans to programme the car so that it will be able to automatically find its way around multi-storey car parks.

But what about the driver and his motoring enjoyment?

The Prometheus researchers say that nothing is further from their minds than to design a fully-automated car in which driving means no more than getting in and out of the vehicle.

But could Prometheus have imagined what his gift of fire was to lead to?

Doesn't total safety also harbour the risk of a system of total control of road-users?

These are question which technocrats have passed on to politicians, but no real answers have yet been found.

The business experts in the car industry, on the other hand, have already taken a closer look at what research will bring during the next few years.

Siemens and Bosch, which will probably soon be invited to join the Prometheus circle, expect "huge growth market" (Siemens) that microchips have been developed which can stand moisture, jolting and considerable variations of temperature, cars can be loaded up with electronics, says a spokesman for Siemens. Whereas today a vehicle has an average of DM250 worth of electronics, this figure is expected to increase to DM750 by 1990. Bosch has been working on certain subsections of the Prometheus project under the project name Mobile Communication for years and is ready to join Prometheus in a big way.

It already estimates the sales potential for navigation, radio and on-board information systems at an annual DM6bn in Europe alone, and this figure could increase to DM15bn in a few years time.

It is hardly surprising that the company expects new jobs for 200 engineers and an three-digit DM-million investment budget.

The figures for Prometheus itself took very modest in comparison.

About DM38.6m is planned for the first year, half of which is for the car industry and half for the 40 research institutes involved in the project.

An investment framework of roughly DM115.5m a year is then planned, although the state research subsidies vary from one Land to the next.

The Bonn Research Ministry will be providing approximately DM2.2m this year and a figure of DM9m is planned for 1987.

Well-aware of its strong position and perhaps therefore keen on emphasising the idea of collaboration Daimler-Benz may not like the sound of what its competitors are openly admitting.

Daimler-Benz, says the man in charge of Prometheus at Renault, Remi Kaiser, set the whole ball rolling.

Manfred Jantke from Porsche describes the situation even more clearly:

"Daimler-Benz and its technology subsidiaries AEG and Dornier will be moving the lion's share of Prometheus."

Driving to a brave new world.
(Photo: Mercedes-Benz)

Not only Daimler-Benz and Porsche suggest that the second flame of Prometheus will flare up in Baden-Württemberg.

Bosch is likely to become a major subcontractor in the field of communications.

After all, the company has already been successful with its ARI traffic radio system and its ALI pilot project, in which a central computer receives and transmits information from and to individual vehicles.

The ANT company in Backnang, in which Bosch has a shareholding, is also taking a closer look at the idea of a transport satellite.

What is more, the Stuttgart Pfaffenwald Technology Centre will be coordinating the Prometheus activities of the German research institutions involved.

Its Institute for Microelectronics, which receives substantial financial backing from the Land government, will also be working on the development of electronics suitable for vehicles.

It can hardly be denied that the cradle of the motor car is again setting the pace in its anniversary year for a technological revolution in traffic systems.

And, as was the case 100 years ago, it is impossible to say whether new developments will only lead to improvements. *Frank A. Linden*

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 16 August 1986)

Continued from page 8

en's Council the Nuremberg-based Federal Labour Office confirmed that women who hand in their notice because they feel sexually pestered are not subject to the disqualification period for the entitlement to unemployment money which normally applies if a person voluntarily hands in his or her notice.

Legally, rape is a crime and a "pat on the behind" or a "pinching of breasts" can constitute bodily injury or personal insult.

But what about lewd and suggestive jokes and remarks?

What was intended as a compliment may be felt by some as impertinence.

The Family Affairs Ministry in Bonn also received a call from the spokeswoman of the staff of an open plan office, who said:

"If we are bothered by something we are self-confident enough to defend ourselves. If the right man comes along we don't mind being bothered."

Hanne Pollmann from the Women's Council emphasises:

"If the study increases men's awareness and strengthens women's self-confidence this would be an important achievement. Cases of molesting or pestering often result from thoughtlessness."

The study's commissioners by no means want to turn the working environment into a sterile place.

Many people make their first contacts with their future wives or husbands at work. An orientation for the study is a definition which has already been generally accepted in the USA, namely that "sexual molesting or pestering covers unwelcome advances, the acceptance of which determine future job advantages or disadvantages.".

A survey four years ago showed that six per cent of the women interviewed in the Federal Republic of Germany felt that they were the victims of "advances which were tantamount to blackmail."

The aim of the Bonn Ministry study is clear: women should be able to reject such advances without having to fear disadvantages as a result.

Horst Zimmermann

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 19 August 1986)

■ ANNIVERSARIES

Frederick the Great: somewhere between absolutism and enlightenment

Two hundred years ago, on 17 August 1786, Frederick II died at Sans Souci. The third of Prussia's kings entered history as Frederick the Great. He reigned in Prussia for 46 years, almost doubling the size of his kingdom in the time. As an army commander he both won great victories and suffered devastating defeats. Because of the curtness of his nature he was more and more avoided in his old age. The last years of his life he spent totally alone. Today he is regarded both as an inconsiderate, power-obsessed ruler and a tolerant and wise King.

Two days before his death Frederick the Great chaired a cabinet meeting and he ordered his doctor to come to Potsdam.

"But I don't need him. The older generation must make way for the younger generation," he said.

Just before his death he had some fruit trees planted in the gardens of Sans Souci, saying that they were for the succeeding generation.

The communiqué announcing the King's death read: "Frederick the Great, a monarch admired by all nations, died on the 17th of this month at 3 in the morning suffering from dropsy. All people acknowledged him as a great king; all kings acknowledge him as a great person."

He was the most enigmatic of the princes of the Holy Roman Empire. During his reign Europe's political landscape was fundamentally altered — not only through the wars he waged, but through his clever dealings with other *monarchs.*

After the division of Poland Prussia extended from Königsberg to Cleves. A year before he died he founded the League of German Princes which included Prussia, Hanover and Saxony along the small German states.

He was born in Berlin Castle on 24 January 1711. It was a jubilant occasion because, although he was not the first born, the two children before him had died shortly after birth. His father, Frederick William I, then Crown Prince, and his mother, Sophia Dorothea, from the House of Hanover, were overjoyed.

The Crown Prince's birth had considerable dynastic significance, for Prussia would have ceased to be a kingdom if there was no male heir to the crown that Frederick I set upon his own head in Königsberg on 18 January 1701.

The young prince was brought up very strictly. He was talented and sensitive. His youth was overshadowed by conflict with his father.

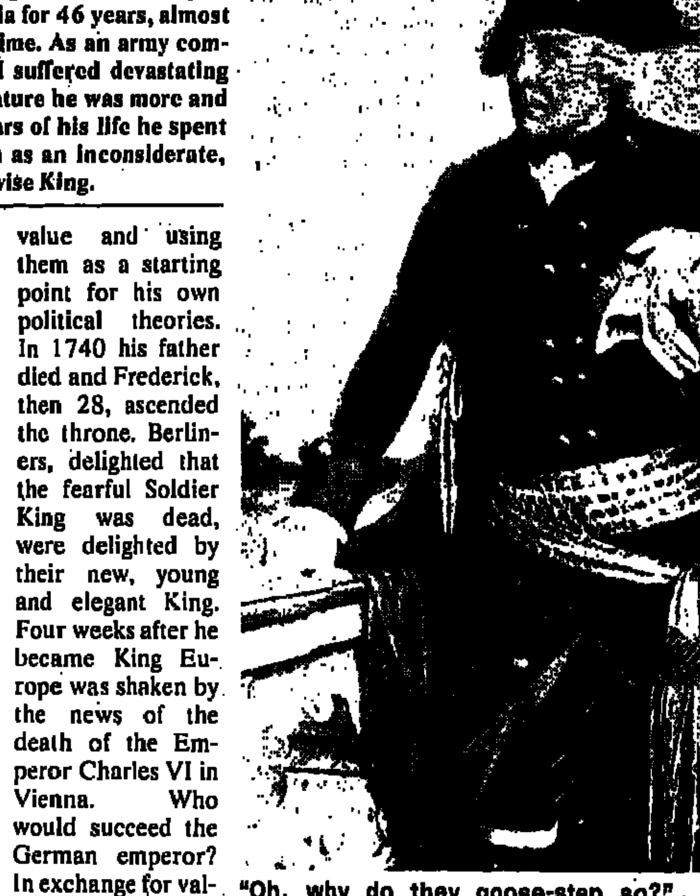
This conflict reached its height in Frederick's vain attempt to flee from his father. He was caught and imprisoned for two years. He was also made to watch as his close friend, Hans Hermann von Katte, who had fled with him, was beheaded.

Frederick, his honour tainted and his pride broken, was forced to agree to marriage with Elisabeth Christina of Brunswick. His wife never entered Sans Souci.

Frederick was not worried that he was childless for the succession was ensured by his nephew, Frederick William II.

Frederick spent several years at Rheinsburg Castle surrounded by artists and scholars. He pursued his inclination to write and in 1739 he produced his *Antimachiavel*, taking the arguments in Marchiavelli's *The Prince* at their face value and using them as a starting point for his own political theories.

In 1740 his father died and Frederick, then 28, ascended the throne. Berliners, delighted that the fearful Soldier King was dead, were delighted by their new, young and elegant King. Four weeks after he became King Europe was shaken by the news of the death of the Emperor Charles VI in Vienna. Who would succeed the German emperor? In exchange for valuable portions of his empire Charles *IV had acquired a* collection of signatures from European rulers to a document — he called it the Pragmatic Sanction — recognising, as he left no son, his daughter Maria Theresa's accession in Austria, Hungary, Bohemia and the southern Netherlands.



"Oh, why do they goose-step so?" ... Frederick the Great, after watching East German soldiers (1986). (Photo: Historia)

She was the cousin of Frederick's wife, Elisabeth Christina, and Duchess of Austria and Silesia, and Queen of Hungary. This was a challenge to Frederick.

He said to his officers: "This death dispels all peace-loving ideas from my head, and I think that it will soon be more a matter of gun powder, soldiers and trenches."

"If you have an advantage you should exploit it. I'm ready with my troops," he added

He had 18,000 troops and eight million silver thalers, "inherited" from his father. But whereas, the Soldier King nursed his expensive, tall grenadiers, the young King, hungry for fame and action, was prepared to hurl himself and them into military adventures. He claimed that he had a right to Silesia.

At a masked ball in Berlin Castle on 13 December 1740 Frederick ordered his officers to exchange their dancing shoes for boots. Three days later he marched into Silesia at the head of his army.

The First Silesian War was followed by the Second in which Frederick successfully defended the territory he had conquered.

After ten years of peace the Seven Years War broke out. Prussia was almost broken in this war. After losing one battle Frederick wanted to committ suicide.

But the battle "under the petticoat" of Maria Theresa of Austria, the Empress Elisabeth of Russia and Madame de Pompadour, Louis XV of France's reigning mistress, was waged until the Treaty of Hubertusberg was signed in 1763.

For almost seven years Frederick II lived away from Berlin and his beloved Sans Souci. When he did return he was given an ecstatic welcome by the citizens of Berlin. He, however, withdrew to the Charlottenburg Castle chapel and wept.

The graceful castle that Frederick had had built in Potsdam to his own plans was not a refuge from care. Prussia, because of the wars, was a poor and devastated country.

Frederick tried, not without success, to stimulate agriculture. He released his soldiers so that they could till the fields in their villages. He recruited foreign workers to come to Prussia from Swabia, the Palatinate and Austria and offered them credits to build new villages.

Canals were dug so that harvests could be brought to the ports. Stettin was developed to be an important port and trade centre.

To demonstrate to his enemies that Prussia was economically strong he built the "Neue Palais" in Potsdam, three times larger than Sans Souci but not as beautiful.

The King only lived in Sans Souci in the summer. He attracted men of intellect to him in droves. Voltaire, the famous and vain philosopher, was despatched back to France after his first visit to Rheinsberg Castle because of "his impudence." But eventually he became a constant guest.

Johann Joachim Quantz, the Bohemian composer Georg Benda and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach as well as his father Johann Sebastian Bach, came to Berlin to make music with the King.

It is not surprising that the other German princes regarded Berlin and Potsdam with jealousy.

Frederick the Great was the last absolute King of Prussia. But unlike his father Frederick William I and his grandfather Frederick I he wanted to be an enlightened ruler.

He fought against ignorance and the mental immaturity of his subjects who were as immature and obedient as they had ever been.

He was tolerant of relgions so that man could follow his own spiritual inclinations.

Prussia was successful in uniting in the person of Frederick the Great the opposing forces of absolutism and Enlightenment.

The King supported justice and the equality of all his subjects before the law. He was a forerunner of political equality even if his subjects were a long way away from government by the people.

To show that all his people were equal under the law he had a nobleman before the courts more than once. He wanted to demonstrate that "prompt justice would be administered to everyone, of high or low station in life, rich or poor, and that every subject would be given impartial justice without consideration of his person or rank."

Frederick ruled as he saw fit. *His orders had to be followed to the letter. He* was as impatient with critics of the measures he applied as of the opinions his ministers offered.

He said: "In a state such as this it is essential that the Prince makes his own decisions."

Nevertheless he was much concerned with his public image "as King." He demanded from his confidents: "I want news from Berlin. I want to know all the details of public opinion. Do not conceal a single detail from me."

Frederick introduced freedom of the press but drew *the line* at comments abou the King. It was, however, a step forward that newspapers were allowed to appear with small details, no matter how insignificant, about court life.

His grandfather Frederick I, and his wife Sophie Charlotte, laid the foundations of intellectual life in Berlin. Sophie Charlotte was a friend of the philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibnitz, and had participated in the founding of the Academy of the Arts and the Academy of the Sciences in the capital. Under Frederick II Berlin became a centre of the Enlightenment, of music and the fine arts — but not German poetry.

The King, revelling in his fame and the beauties of his capital (he did not have much sympathy for religion) invited philosophers, mathematicians and artists to Berlin.

He engaged foreign singers and dancers for the opera he had built. He bought valuable pictures, mainly works by Watteau, Rembrandt and Rubens, for the castles he had inherited.

As father of his people Frederick took pains to see what his subjects should cultivate in their sandy soil — potatoes; what they should drink — beer instead of coffee, because beer did not have to be imported; what children should learn at school — German grammar, although he himself was poor at this, history, Latin, logic, philosophy, rhetoric and religion.

His father introduced compulsory education but there were too few schools to meet demand.

To protect his subjects from need and poverty, and to improve Prussia's affluence, he founded silk factories and established spinning-rooms for women so that they did not need to beg or make themselves available to men.

Because he loved expensive porcelain he purchased the porcelain factory set

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■ THE CINEMA

A six-mark peep at where the dreams are made

Bavaria Atelier, the German film producer, has the biggest studios in Europe — 35.6 hectares in Munich. The company has a turnover of DM150 million a year. It makes between 10 and 12 full-length films and about 150 hours of film for television each year. There are 40 cutting rooms and three blue-screens for cartoon production. There are seven studios including the massive Studio 9 with its 2,500 square metres. Bavaria Atelier has 700 full-time employees including 300 in copying operations, 100 in making film sets (mostly tradesmen) and 40 in the drama department. It also uses 1,000 temporary workers.

It all began in 1919 when Ludwig Ganghofer's local history novel *Ochsenkrieg* was filmed in Bavaria.

Since then, Bavaria Atelier has become the largest film-maker in Europe. Its only competition comes from the big British makers.

Bavaria Atelier facilities are so good that they are used by American film and television producers as well as German.

There are specialist studios, décor and costumes provided by Rolf Zehetbauer and top-hit special effects from Charly Baumgartner.

The high technical standards are exemplified by the blue-screen cartoon facility, the largest in the world.

Bavaria Filmkunst, West German Radio and South German Radio are all involved with the studio.

Since December 1984, the state of Bavaria (ever with a watchful eye on its prestige among the media) has also become involved.

Its reputation has rocketed over the past few years with films such as *The Boat, Never-ending Story* and *Enemy Mine.*

There have also been many run-of-the-mill films and these are greedily accepted by television:

Since 1959, when Channel One and Channel Three of ARD began to do business with Bavaria Atelier, the Munich studios have made 130 films and more than 3,000 television productions such as crime films, television plays and series.

A film city such as this of course is a magnet for the public wanting to look behind the scenes and maybe rub shoulders with the great and famous.

They can take their chance by visiting Bavarian Atelier at a cost of between six and eight marks.

Since tours were started in 1981 more than two million people have been taken through.

The film tour team is made up of 100, mainly guides. Souveniring is a problem. One particularly annoying theft was of the model of a race-track for *Never-ending Story.*

Visitors are packed into a small-guage railway train that goes round the studios. They all know the big stars who have been here because they are given a list: Liza Minelli, Mick Jagger, Jean-Paul Belmondo, Götz George etc. Everyone (well, most) hopes to see someone who is someone. Usually the best they manage is a glimpse from a distance.

One guide explained why they can't get closer: "Once a group discovered Herbert Grönemeyer (a pop singer who also starred in *The Boat*). That killed the tour dead. The youngsters just stared at Grönemeyer."

The first stop on the tour is a set made for the television series *Rote Erde,* (Red Earth, dealing with coal pits in the Ruhr in the last years of the 19th century.).

It was certainly never so trendy in the Ruhr as it was in the Bavaria Atelier studios then, for at the same time the German-American production *Lisa im Spielzeugland* was being shot, a children's film with houses painted a candy-colour and balloons lit up on the ridges of the roofs. They were painted strawberry colour instead of slate gray.

The guide does his best for his group and scouts out what they want to see. He said: "There in front is the production director, there at the back on the right." But he's already gone. The visitors are just given a peep over the fence, as it were.

The studios have a small museum filled with props from film and television productions.

For the older people there is the frock-coat worn by Count Yoster (in a television series of the 1960s). In a neighbouring showcase there is the blood-stained jacket worn by Schimanski (Götz George) in *Zahn um Zahn.*

Many more noses are pressed against the glass case containing detective Schimanski's coat (from the television series *Tatort*) than against the Count's showcase.

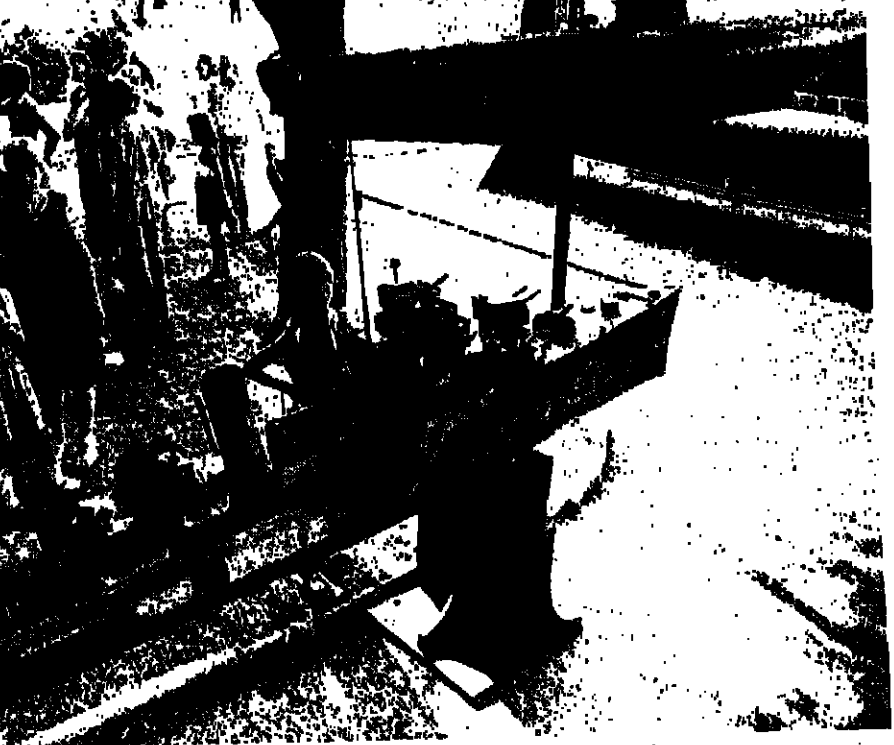
A few steps further on there is the "space corridor" from the science-fiction adventure film *Enemy Mine.*

Disillusioned, one visitor said; "Oh, but it's nothing like as big as it was in the film."

Similar expressions of surprise are frequent. A short video-film about the origins of the film wonder world gives rise to comment.

It took three hours every day to make Lou Gossett up for *Enemy Mine* before he looked like a being from another world. One of the visitors said: "That's just incredible."

The guides have a break while the video film is shown. According to one of them, who makes his living as a guide, the tour is not a routine business.



Dry dock at Bavaria Atelier: heroes of *The Boat.* (Photo: dpa)

He said: "You must always include something new for the different interests of the groups. Sometimes its IBM managers, a group of 16-year-olds, a semi-drunk bowling club from Passau, a CSU women's group or 12-year-old punk-rockers from the Ruhr."So that the tour is not too arid for either the managers or the punk-rockers the Bavaria Atelier planners have introduced a show element into it. A company official said: "But not so much by a long way as Universal Studios in Hollywood."

The tour of the Californian studios is very much more expensive anyway than the Bavaria Atelier tour, but it does not include visits to original sets. It is more or less a second Disneyland.

Things are not better in neighbouring countries in Europe. For other reasons.

It is very difficult to get into Rome's Cinecitta or the British Pinewood Studios. To this extent the Bavaria Atelier tour is unique, according to a company official.

There are no stuntmen falling from the roof or a house going up in flames.

Instead a few visitors are invited to indulge in a little adventure on video entitled "The monster disturbs the lovebirds." They can see how they "acted" afterwards. It was a great bore!

Then on to a model for the major television series that is to be shown in November *Väter und Söhne,* (Fathers and Sons, about the rise and fall of a German industrial company family) and the moon car with which Niki Lauda rolled through the show *Die Zukunft hat Geburtstag* at the beginning of the year.

The musicians had all gone off to lunch when we came to the vast Studio 9.

The Bavaria Atelier official said: "It's our flair that thrills people."

You certainly have to make an effort to see the flair in a worn "Berliner Strasse." Ten years ago Ingmar Bergman's *Schlangenei* (Snake's Egg) was filmed on this set and since then the street has been used for 20 other productions, when a Berlin scene with atmosphere, cobble-stones and old buildings was called for in the script.

Rainer Werner Fassbinder's film version of Alfred Döblin's *Berlin Alexanderplatz* was shot here.

But the street's great days are over. The Munich weather has taken its toll and it has to be pulled down.

The left-overs in those studios were *The Never-ending Story* was made are in much better condition. But the Stone-eater lacks a tooth and Snail has to do without a feeler, but by the use of a few mechanical tricks these creatures are made to seem real.

Children can stroke the Snail or the Dragon Fuchur just as if they were living.

The tour presentation ends with non-professionals showing a dented American car, used in *Drei Bonner Sekretärinnen auf der Flucht in die DDR,* (Three Bonn secretaries fleeing to East Germany).

The tour has lasted 90 minutes, the time it takes to screen a full-length film. Those who arrange the tour do not want it to be any longer.

Much more could be shown but no one would concentrate, officials believe.

Losses could be covered by special tours. There is a continuous demand for VIP tours costing up to DM10,000.

Some would like to be guided through the set submarine by the main actor in *The Boat,* Jürgen Prochnow and others would like to be guided through a tour of the sets by Sabine Sauer.

Others would like to mix the amusing with advertising. A firm for steel drills could show its products in the pit shaft used for filming *Rote Erde.*

It doesn't matter that everything in the studios is only a set. Bavaria Atelier deals in fantasies.

Martin Oehlen

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 9 August 1986)

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up by Wegely. He brought in porcelain specialist workers from Meissen to Berlin, so that dinner services from the royal porcelain factory could be exported to other European princely courts.

The production of this porcelain is still in state control.

When Frederick II succeeded his father in 1740 more soldiers lived in Berlin and Potsdam than civilians, in total 50,000 inhabitants. When he died there were in Greater Berlin three times that number, almost 150,000.

After his death Berlin was an important residential city with imposing buildings, that had been erected during his reign, the Electoral Library, the Frederick William University, as it was later named, and the Staatsoper.

In the heart of Berlin, built at Frederick's wish in imitation of the Pantheon of Rome, there stands St Hedwig's Catholic Cathedral. Berlin's Cathedral was built in 1760 in the style of the Italian late renaissance from Silesian sandstone. It contains the Hohenzollern family vault, where Brandenburg electors and Prussian kings are interred, among them Frederick I and Frederick William II and their wives.

During the war Frederick the Great's coffin was brought to West Germany and is now at Burg Hechingen.

The equestrian statue of Prussia's greatest king, by Christian Rauch, stands in East Berlin. Frederick looks towards the Staatsoper and the Arsenal.

Under his stern gaze the guard of honour drawn from East Germany's People's Army marches up and down.

He would have been amused at their goose-stepping, but he would have found the city's division incomprehensible.

Ingelore M. Winter

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 16 August 1986)

Couples who sue for divorce are often unwittingly keeping up a family tradition, Göttingen psychotherapists say. They are the victims of a vicious circle.

In a four-year project backed by the Scientific Research Association (DFG), staff of Göttingen University department of psychotherapy and social therapy found there was often a pattern of disturbed relationships within families.

Parents and grandparents, often uncles and aunts too, had made a failure of marriage.

In many cases they had, as it were, inherited from their parents and families the reasons for marital failure. Couples whose parents have not lived happily together have never really known what it is like.

They lack a model for a stable and successful relationship, psychologists say. They lack the experience needed to choose a suitable partner and don't know what it takes to make a success of love.

Children identify most intensively with their parents' feelings and have a keen sense of the quality of relations between their mother and father.

Thirty-eight marriages either faltering or on the rocks were investigated as part of the research project, with therapy under the supervision of family therapist Günter Reich.

Relationship patterns were frequently found to have been taken over from the parental generation even though parents themselves might not have separated or been divorced.

Whether a serious, unresolved marital crisis results in divorce will always depend on a wide range of criteria, such as social background and economic circumstances.

■ BEHAVIOUR

Divorce is often a family habit, says survey

Even in the few grandparental marriages superficially described as having been successful closer scrutiny often revealed exact prefiguration of the marital conflicts of the couples investigated.

Sexual conflict and clashes over power, subordination and control most frequently recurred.

This vicious circle cannot, experts say, be broken because many sons and daughters are unable to sever family bonds and lead lives of their own.

Choosing a husband or wife of their own will, they hope, enable them to solve their family conflicts. The partner is expected to offset and fulfil all the shortcomings that are felt to be problematic about their own families.

Those who have felt the atmosphere in their parental homes to be too restricted hope to redress the balance by marrying a generous and liberal partner.

Those who have experienced nothing but quarrels and solitude at home hope their own choice of partner will give them the feeling of warmth and cosiness they feel they have missed.

The same is true of adults who feel their parents made a success of marriage. They are often keen to run their own marriages along the same lines.

These are high hopes, often too much to expect of a partner. Marital crises result. A lawyer by the name of Hans-Joachim is described as a typical case history.

He was attracted from the outset by the "girlish" character and good looks of his wife. He set great store by her ability to adapt to him and by the warmth and intimacy he sensed in her family.

He had often sought refuge with her family from the criticism to which he had been subjected in his own, he told his therapist. His wife was totally different from his mother and sisters.

They set no store by their appearance but were very active intellectually. His mother rejected his wife as a weak personality, too anxious, too shy and lacking in academic background.

In their marriage he then accused his wife of being "naive" and not intellectual enough. She read too little and didn't show sufficient interest in his career. She was a drag.

She in contrast complained of too little emotion in their relationship. The original reason why they married eventually emerged as a ground for divorce.

The influence of their parental homes continued to predominate and neither he nor his wife succeeded in leading a family life of their own.

Most young couples who took part in the project had been unable to establish a separate and independent family unit with a clear dividing line from parental influence.

Parents continued to be the hub of their lives. They were often the most important confidants and continued to exercise influence and control over the family lives of their grown-up children.

Young married couples remained "sons" and "daughters" rather than becoming husbands and wives. They retained a constant need of parental care.

The Göttingen research scientists also looked into the effects of separation and divorce. During the divorce proceedings the clash between husband and wife was found to be so paramount that children and their needs tended to be badly neglected and children often faced serious problems of allegiance.

In many cases parents' protestations of interest solely in the children's well-being were a mere pretence.

The clash over custody assumed a sadder significance, with children often being used as allies and bargaining counters.

The Göttingen psychotherapists advise comprehensive family therapy in cases where a marriage is on the rocks.

Therapy must include the couple's parents as the only way to eliminate upsets in relationships that are handed down from one generation to the next.

Sigrid Latka-Jöhring

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 16 August 1986)

Looking for the man behind the suppressed inner pig dog

Young men are often not what they feel they ought to be. Well aware of conventional standards and ideals of manliness, many 20- to 40-year-old men now feel these conventions weigh heavily on them.

Traditional values and classical attributes of manliness are called into question even though new ones do not yet exist.

Being a man is no longer a matter of course; it is something that can only be learnt with difficulty.

Being a "real man" is very hard and not being one is most alarming, a Berlin survey says, because one's self-esteem is then immediately under attack.

Men's Views of Themselves is the title of the survey, compiled by Dieter Bongers of the psychology department at the Technical University.

Thirty-six 20- to 40-year-old men were interviewed. They were open interviews on women and sex, views of one's body and views on manliness in this context.

Interviews may have been open but a number of leading questions (although not in the legal sense) were asked.

This approach, rather than a lengthy questionnaire and random statistical samples, was required because the experts had neglected the subject of being a man, becoming a man, and manliness, Dr Bongers said.

There was an almost total lack of systematic basic data.

Seventy-five per cent of the men interviewed held the *Abitur*, or school-leaving certificate and university entrance requirement, so many of the survey's findings may apply primnarily to young men with above-average educational qualifications.

Part of their experience is that their sense of self-esteem is not yet very stable.

Many of the men interviewed admitted to serious tension between their views on manliness and manly values and their view of themselves.

Measuring themselves in terms of their ideal, they suffer from feelings of inadequacy. This phenomenon, often noted and occasionally termed the crisis of manliness, is seen by Dr Bongers as follows.

Men learn early to suppress their feelings and impulses and to be guided by external standards, such as "what men don't do."

Those who are guided by these standards earn outward recognition, always assuming they succeed, and affirmation of their ego.

The result is a vicious circle in which the main objective is not to satisfy personal needs but to earn the recognition and approval of others.

What Germans call the "inner pig-dog," the alter ego standing for suppressed emotions and needs, especially feminine ones, is suppressed in the process.

This combination of suppressing emotions and aiming for the praise of others is inevitably a tender, fragile plant as is impressively demonstrated, Dr Bongers says, by men whose wives leave them or suddenly become unemployed.

An issue on which no questions were asked but which came to the fore as interviews progressed was fear of women and the fear of rejection.

In nearly all interviews it was voiced by the men themselves. They were afraid of being engulfed and devoured, of not being taken seriously, of becoming dependent.

They frequently equated emotionalities with dependence. Some of the men interviewed seem to have difficulty in maintaining their integrity.

Others are less afraid of coalescence than of losing this sense of community. This fear of binding relationships is heightened by the lower social status of

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■ EDUCATION

Si! Non! Doch! Language must interesting be

In America, teachers of German use all their imagination to make their classes interesting. They have to. They are in competition with other language classes, especially French and Spanish.

And smaller classes can threaten a teacher's livelihood. So students are first lured and then everything is done to keep them.

This was the main topic when 400 delegates gathered in Berlin for the 54th conference of the American Association of Teachers of German. They heard how the old grammatical grind, the wading through dry lesson after dry lesson has long since disappeared.

This cut-throat competition and the extent to which recruiting students has become important came to light during the conference.

The theme was how teachers can make German attractive to students. Delegates discussed how to arouse in students the need to hear spoken German.

Teachers were told about how music and visual aids can enliven classes.

Because teachers can lose their jobs if they can't get and keep pupils, the use of geographical information has taken on an urgent importance. And this is where the city of Berlin comes in.

Professor Weiss of the University of Minnesota explained. "We chose Berlin because the participants are confronted to a special degree with the problems of the reality of post-war Germany".

Berlin orientated slides, cassettes and teaching materials were on offer from educational publishers as well as from the Goethe Institute and Inter Nationes.

In addition to that Berlin was also approached from a sociological and literary angle. The literature of guest-workers and Yiddish and Berlin in the 1920s were discussed in the context of Berlin and it's tradition as a cultural melting pot.

At present about 16 million people are learning German abroad, says the head of German cultural department of the Foreign Office, Barthold C. Witte. 100 million people in Europe are native speakers of German.

In his welcoming address he put the question to himself of why the government are so interested in promoting German abroad despite the fact that 50 per cent, in the 14 to 19 age-group 84 per cent, of its citizens can speak the language of Shakespeare and J.R.

His answer was that the teaching of German was of particular importance for government foreign policy, which is aimed at promoting dialogue understanding and cooperation.

Whoever can speak German he said, "is a better partner."

The value of language he added "lies not just in its use as a means of communication but also in its capacity to arouse interest in foreign cultures and peoples."

Efforts to promote interest are being applied particularly in European countries, Japan, the U.S.A. and China. Among other things radio posts, posters and financially supported student-exchange programmes are being used to promote interest.

Next year in American schools, students are very likely to experience Berlin as an attraction. Teachers got to know Berlin during the conference. They travelled on the rapid transit system or strolling along the Kürfürstendamm.

Those who were interested in collecting teaching material were advised to take advantage of post offices, banks and Department stores for forms, information leaflets and advertisement posters. As it was the summer sale period a rich harvest was promised to all.

Elisabeth Binder

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 1 August 1986)

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women. There is an obvious contradiction in the desire for dependence on women as creatures of low standing. Erotic attraction stands in constant contrast to fear and contempt.

The tales men told about their first great love and how they got to know their partners made short shrift of the myth of man as the great philanderer.

Only two men said they had taken the initiative. The remainder had either been approached by the woman, had somehow become involved or had got to know their partner while out dancing.

Women were more to the fore in ending a relationship too, calling it a day in well over 60 per cent of cases. Jilted men felt deeply upset too.

Surprisingly few men attach much importance to their own bodies and their own sexuality, arguably because they suppress feelings emanating from it and stay at arm's length from their bodies.

A further reason may be that the ideology of manliness merely requires the body to be a working instrument, reducing sexuality mainly to the factor of being ready, able and willing whenever the need arises.

Renate I. Mreschar/ deutscher forschungsdienst

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 3 August 1986)

Theology and women: German takes up Dutch offer

RHEINISCHE POST

Hedwig Meyer-Wilmes-Müller, a Catholic theologian from Münster, has been appointed lecturer in feminist theology at the University of Nijmwegen, in Holland.

Frau Meyer-Wilmes-Müller, a 32-year-old, has a four-year-old boy. The post, established just two years ago, is the only one of its type in Europe.

Efforts to change the patriarchial nature of the church and the traditional disadvantages and discrimination which this has meant for women have been usually treated with scorn and derision.

The appointment of Frau Meyer-Wilmes-Müller is a new chapter in the history of a young theological movement intent on changing the church's treatment of women.

Another chair of feminist theology is to be set up next month in another Dutch centre, Utrecht. But Germany has none at any of its Protestant and Catholic faculties.

Frau Meyer-Wilmes-Müller said "German universities don't hold out any prospects for feminist theologians."

The movement which has been successful in America, owes its existence she said "less to Universities and more to the involvement of women's groups in church conferences and training colleges."

There are many women, she added "working away in parishes who have an unwavering belief in Christ, but who feel they have been enlightened about their position by the analyses of feminist theology.

Meyer-Wilmes-Müller has definite goals. She wants to see women being admitted to the priesthood, quotas giving women parity with men on governing boards and changes in concordat contracts with corresponding alterations for lay-people, so that women can get the chance to to work in the field of theological science.

The feminist theologian defends her rigid demands for a quota system for women. Appeals she said, "whether made around the country, in the political arena or in the church itself are not enough. Regulations are necessary to give our vision more of a chance of becoming a reality."

She also wants to carry on the search



Frau Meyer-Wilmes-Müller . . . setting a trend? (Photo: dpa)

for a new liturgical form and the revision of an image of God unacceptably patriarchal in nature.

The theologian sees the relationship to the handed down image of God, such as in the most important Christian prayer "Our Father", as being a major dilemma.

"On the one hand the language of the liturgy and also theological concepts are permeated with masculine bias. On the other hand the idea of a masculine God was not just accepted as an image, but as a confirmation of male superiority. This belief has persisted to the present day."

As the father is in heaven so should he be on earth. The earthly father came to occupy a heavenly rank in the family itself. This hierarchy she said "became deep-rooted in the family and it's our duty to uproot it."

However she sees attempts to label Jesus as a feminist as unproductive. I have to ask myself she said "if that is really necessary in order to understand ourselves better as women. I personally don't think it is. We're trying to pass on to Jesus something which Christology basically can't afford to do."

Hedwig Meyer-Wilmes-Müller and theologians like her, in view of the proximity of their efforts to overcome sexism and to achieve internal equality in the church, consider themselves to be acting very much in the tradition of liberation theology.

Matthias Hoenig

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 8 August 1986)

■ HORIZONS

Germany's only ombudsman hands in complaints book

Ombudsman is a Scandinavian term for an official appointed to investigate complaints against government departments. The Swedes appointed the first, in 1809. Germany has had only one so far dealing with non-military affairs. Johannes Baptist Rösler is retiring on health grounds after 12 years as ombudsman in the Rhineland-Palatinate. He was a Christian Democrat member of the *Land* assembly before taking on the job.

Johannes Baptist Rösler, ombudsman in the Rhineland-Palatinate, retires at the end of this year with much praise for the way he has handled the job.

Does the administration of a constitutional state require a middleman between the governors and the governed? Has the office of ombudsman been of value? Why is Rösler the only one in the country?

The experts have taken up the question. A brochure dealing with the effectiveness of the office and how it could be supervised has been issued.

A taste of its lucidity from the final sentence: "Since such perception processes once more pre-suppose specific-group standards, it can be shown that the responsivity concept is an adequate instrument for establishing examples of specific-group opinion of an administrative control system." Yes.

Rösler, 64, is a small, genial man, a little plump perhaps, from the Sudetenland. *He is a Catholic and has a touch of* Bohemian cunning mixed with newly-acquired Rhineland prudence and humour.

His father was an executive in a weaving mill. He studied political science, taught religious studies in a trade school and was for many years a member of the state parliament, eventually its president.

He has a talent for being able to talk to the man-in-the-street with the same ease as to VIPs. He knows about people's pleasures and their disappointments.

In short, he is a man and not an administrative control system.

What can be assessed, perhaps, are the statistics. The Rhineland-Palatinate legislation of 1974 setting up the ombudsman — it is generally regarded as the best legislation of its kind in the world — defines the ombudsman's task as being to look into petitions to the state parliament and the petitions committee and any other form of complaint concerning offices subject to parliamentary control where citizens maintain that they have been dealt with in an illegal or unsuitable way.

Over the past 12 years Rösler has received and read more than 28,000 petitions, or he has listened to them on the telephone in his Mainz office or in the consultations he has held all over the country.

He said that he has spoken to about 7,000 people during his period in office. "In fact you can double that figure because people bring their wives with them or a neighbour. Sometimes there have been whole groups," he said.

There is no way of calculating the efficiency of such a job. When one matter is being dealt with, frequently something else crops up in conversation. A man drinks, a marriage is on the rocks, trouble with the children, serious illness and anxieties.

Many have said after an interview with Rösler: "You are the first to have listened to me."

Many visit him although they know that he cannot effect a judicial ruling, involve himself in any legal proceedings that have not yet been concluded, prevent a bankruptcy, agree to pay anyone's debts or act as a referee in family disputes.

Rösler said: "I can say that I don't agree with something, but I can do nothing about it myself. But I've always applied what I know about life to this job. Someone who has been preparing for the interview for days on end, comes to see me, perhaps after any number of sleepless nights. I have to regard the interview to discuss the problem as just as important as he or she does, whether I can help or not."

The statistics have to be considered with this in mind. They cannot be complete because not everything done in such an office can be recorded.

About 20 to 25 per cent of the petitions handed into the ombudsman's office are inadmissible. Lawyers working in the office look at petitions closely before ruling they are inadmissible.

On average over the years something could be done about a half of the petitions presented to Rösler's office. In these cases it was possible to offer citizens advice to aid them further.

People between 40 and 50 are the largest group of people who present petitions to the office, followed by the 50 to sixty-year-olds, then the 60 to seventy-year-olds.

In a breakdown of professions pensioners and retired civil servants are in the majority, followed by white-collar workers, housewives, farmers and winegrowers. The smallest group to appeal to the ombudsman is made up of manual workers and students.

People in small villages and communities are more likely to turn to the ombudsman than people living in medium to large towns and cities.

What problems do people bring to the office? Up to 1980 they involved matters concerning building legislation in the main. Since then the penal system has been top of the ombudsman's problem list and more and more cases involving penal system complaints are being presented to the office.

The reason for this is simple; Fewer new prisons are being built and there are more and more prisoners.

And the cases? One man, who has to read thousands of these cases, is bound to have sleepless nights.

Rösler referred, for example, to the obliqueness of the law. Some years ago a man went to the mayor of his town and asked if he could build a little wooden house in the country. The mayor said: "Buy some land and build your house."

The citizen took this as official permission. But it wasn't. The mayor had gone beyond his jurisdiction.

Then paragraph 35 of federal building legislation, the compendium for the officials concerned, came into it.

Rösler said: "Every year I have the same thing. A citizen is at variance with the law, and I can do nothing about it."

In matters involving the penal system the question of creating a precedent predominates, according to the retiring

Prudence, humour and a little cunning . . . Johannes Baptist Rösler.

ombudsman. He said he could well understand why the law was reluctant to be lenient in certain individual cases. Immediately another case is presented calling for equal treatment. News gets about very quickly.

Obviously there are people in prison who know just how to draw up a petition, the same style is a give-away.

Rösler has insisted that "we should be more lenient with one another. People in prison have shown that there is still such a thing as Christian compassion."

This attitude has cropped up time and time again in his annual reports that have not always been received by his CDU colleagues and the government with enthusiasm.

He tells of the case of a prisoner who asked to be moved to another prison so that his wife could visit him more often.

The request was rejected on the

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My Hamburg, by Helmut Schmidt, film-maker

Former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has turned film-maker. His production for television called A Man and his City, is a portrait of Hamburg, where he was born and grew up.

The film is not sentimental. It reveals his ambivalent attitudes to the city: his affection, his love of the Hanseatic traditions of the historic seaport; and his detached view of its importance.

Hamburgers are too careless with the term "world city" he says. He sees Hamburg as more a mixture of stolidity and things rural. It is also both sympathetic and aloof.

Schmidt says the Hamburger's patriotism clouds the fact that Lubeck played a more significant role in the Hanse.

Hamburg was once thought of as The Gateway to the World. But it had now lost its dominant position in world trade and had instead become a centre for service industries.

It had a reputation as a media city, but this was not entirely justified. It had, for example, no national daily.

The city on the Elbe was where Schmidt grew up and came to prominence as a senator in the State assembly (his handling of the flood disaster of 1962 when he cut through red tape and called in the army to help has become almost legendary).

He went to Bonn as a Federal Member of Parliament, and then became a Cabinet Minister and evenually Chancellor.

But the film is not merely a prosaic commentary: Schmidt is captured both with his *Lotsenmütze* (a harbour pilot's hat similar to a variety of maritime headgear popular in the north of Germany) and without.

The camera skills of directors Istvan



Ex-Chancellor Schmidt at work . . . ducks and lakes. (Photo: AP)

Bury and Reiner Schäffer are underlined in the opulent sequences of land and water and from the air. There are soft lights on the Lombard bridge and the city lights in the streets and on the buildings round the Binnenalster.

There are the city sounds: ships sirens, bells chiming, ducks quacking.

The camera avoids wallowing in beauty; it maintains a comfortable relationship with the viewer.

Schmidt is shown in front of his modest house in the suburb of Langenhorn; on one of the flat-roofed ferries that ply the Alster in the centre of the city; in the offices of the weekly *Die Zeit*, where he is a senior editorial executive; and playing a classical piece on the piano.

He delves into Hamburg, talking with ease about Brahms and Bach, about Thomas Mann and about Heinrich Heine, who described Hamburg as a marketplace for shabby merchants.

The rain comes. It pours. And the camera sweeps into the old suburb of St Pauli, home of the Reeperbahn, the red-light district. "Hamburg people," declares Schmidt, "don't go down there."

He says the Englishness of the city cannot be ignored. He refers to mentality, customs, manner of dress and sporting inclinations such as polo and the derby race meeting.

He brings people into the picture, especially the skilled workers of the shipyards. Businessmen are given second preference: glimpses into shiny offices with their trimmings of soft leather and mahogany.

Schmidt speaks warmly about the city mayors of the 1950s and 1960s and is particularly fulsome about Herbert Weichmann.

But he is more reserved about his own party, the Social Democrats. They have changed, he says. They used to have their roots in the labour movement. Where their roots now are is left unsaid.

Rudolf Hänsel

(Kieler Nachrichten, 15 August 1986)

■ SOCIETY

Out of the gutter and into a mattress at Whisky Ranch — for 800 marks a night

The most expensive accommodation in Hamburg costs around 800 marks a night (400 American dollars or 250 pounds sterling).

For that you get a mattress on the floor in a big room with 11 others plus transport to the front door.

The place has earned the nickname of the Whisky Ranch. It's not for the wealthy, although they might be found there. It's for drunks. The legless variety that don't know where they are anymore and who have become a danger to themselves and to others.

It is Germany's only specialist sobering-up unit, the Zentralambulanz für Betrunkene. It is not a profiteering privately run organisation. It is run by the City of Hamburg.

The cost used to be 100 marks cheaper, but the Senate (executive) has decided that they want to try and recoup some of the constantly overrun yearly budget of 2 million marks and the 1.2 million marks outlaid to buy the building, a former innoculation clinic attached to a hospital.

The centre shifted here, in the inner-city suburb of St Georg, near the main station, earlier this year from St Pauli, near the Reeperbahn.

Eighty per cent of the clientele are not able to pay. Sixty per cent are social welfare recipients. The rest come from all levels of society. Some pay through their medical insurance companies and, presumably, others pay cash.

The accommodation itself now costs 500 marks a night and transport up to almost 300, depending on how far you are carted and by which of several ambulance organisations.

A doctor is on duty round the clock and so are nursing aides. There are a total of 10 nursing aides, five cleaners and a policeman permanently on duty at the front door. The doctors are rostered from the public health system. They do about one shift a year there.

Clients who get violent are not jabbed with a nice tranquilising shot. They are manhandled into one of four cells, the door is locked, and the heating is turned up until the temperature reaches between 25 and 28 degrees Celcius (between about 77 and 82 Fahrenheit).

Whisky Ranch staff say that in the dim light, the heat works quickly, leaving most clients sleeping peacefully after a few minutes — and usually snoring loudly.

The sterile image of the former innoculation centre has been retained. The floors are tiled and the walls coated with a lacquer which makes cleaning easy.

Wash basins, lavatories and cisterns are made of steel and are set into walls. They are just about impossible to damage and cause injury only with difficulty. The renovation was done with the accent on function. Style ran a poor second. The cells have naked walls and heavy-duty wooden doors without handles.

Herbert Nitsch, 45, is Whisky Ranch's second in command. He says about 30 per cent of patients are regulars. Some come 50 times a year. But there are many who come just once and never again. They come from all sections of society, "from tramps to politicians".

The number of women is increasing. "We used to have five or six a month. Now one in eight is a women. Sometimes we have three or four in one day."

Women once would drink at home. Times are a changing. Now they go with (or perhaps without) the men to the pub.

Whisky Ranch, known by the authorities and staff as ZAB, its initials, was founded in 1974 mainly as a means of taking the pressure off hospital outpatient wards and police stations.

The immediate reason was that five young drunks died in police cells within a year because overworked station staff had been unable to keep a close enough eye on occupants. Hospitals were having constant difficulty with drunks causing disturbances.

But despite the success of the centre, which handles more than 5,000 cases a year, no other centre in Germany has adopted the idea.

Inmates are released in between half an hour and six hours. They must, says Nitsch, be able to walk straight and know where they are. It is not a home for the homeless.

He tells the story of a Danish holiday-maker who was arrested by station police. "He was extremely embarrassed when he woke up and found himself looking at the sterile walls. His clothes were filthy and he couldn't leave in them".

So he had a shower and then took some clothes from an emergency wardrobe kept for this sort of predicament.

Nitsch says: "We got the clothes back freshly laundered together with a thank you letter."

It is just after midnight. The doors of Whisky Ranch swing open to allow two orderlies to carry a man inside.

The man is sleeping. His clothes are unkempt; his suit is stained with dirt and blood. His face is bruised and his nose looks as if it is broken.

The wounds have already been treated be the ambulance staff on the way, but the Whisky Ranch doctor now checks the man circulation and peers into his eyes for signs of pupil movement.

The man is taken to the dormitory where his nice, white mattress is on the floor waiting for him. A camera mounted on the wall means he will be kept under observation all night.

The dormitory tonight is quiet. The patients are barely awake as the doctor makes his round. Nitsch explains that it is not always that way. Sometimes they want to go home. They get violent as they are taken to the solitary confinement cell.

"It gets hard sometimes. We get abused, we're often attacked, but we always have to stay calm."

It is almost six in the morning. The man with the broken nose wakes and surveys the scene. As the penny drops, he becomes genial.

"Did I cause a little difficulty?" Drunk he definitely had not been. He remembers exactly. One or two beers in a pub in St Georg.

"Maybe they put something in my drink." Money is missing from his wallet.

Nitsch says: "They are often robbed. But more often they have just spent the money in their drunkenness and can't remember."

Where theft is suspected, complaints are made. A couple who regularly robbed sleeping topers were recently caught.

The man with the nose gets out of bed, showers and leaves. He is going to the police to complain.

The cleaning lady arrives. She starts using a hose to wash and disinfect the place. So it will be ready for tonight.

Gisela Schütte

(Die Welt, Bonn, 4 August 1986)

Reuter Street raise Jolly Roger against traffic noise and fumes

Motorists coming into Bonn from the Cologne motorway are suddenly confronted with black flags bearing a white skull and crossbones.

A skull and crossbones also replaces the "o" in the word Bonn in the corner of the flags.

Visitors to the capital stop short, wondering if the city has been afflicted by radio-active fall-out. Or has Bonn fallen to pirates? Or does the Chancellor have the chief of a tribe of cannibals to lunch?

Driving on a little further the motorist discovers that neither fall-out, pirates nor cannibals are the reason why the people in Reuter Street have decked their houses with skull and crossbone flags, but the noise made by the 70,000 cars that night and day drive past their homes.

The residents' anger is considerable, because motorists use this road not only to reach the government district of the capital but as an inner link between the motorways on the left and right banks of the Rhine.

Günter Dequin of the residents' campaign, who has a flower shop in Reuter Street, said: "We are the most poisoned people in Bonn." Some of his neighbours can only keep the noise out by using ear-plugs. Others have to spray deodants in their living rooms to get rid of the car exhaust smell.

Some paste up large posters of country-side scenes from the Black Forest in kitchens to foster the illusion of living in the country.

For years Reuter Street citizens have complained about their quality of life.

Fifteen years ago the residents of the Bonn street raised the skull and crossbones for the first time.

Because of "political differences" in the city the citizens have again unrolled their flags and will not take them in until the traffic from Cologne is re-directed over the right-bank motorway.

The citizens have dropped their intention of taking the city to court for manslaughter.

Günter Dequin said: "The noise would have been a nuisance to us for ages before a court ruling would have been handed down."

The proposal to build a tunnel through the Venusberg so as to ban the troublesome traffic from the streets is not new.

But when the proposal was first made the residents of the Venusberg, fearing for their peace and quiet, formed a citizens's initiative. The tunnel idea was shelved.

The various citizens' initiatives in Bonn now want to get together to form a "Traffic Forum." It is hoped that such an organisation would force the Bonn city authorities to take some action, instead of making "vague promises and introducing cosmetic alterations." The buck has been continuously passed on in the past.

The city administration has called for surveys as to how the situation could be improved, but the results of these surveys have sometimes ignored the human element.

According to Günter Dequin an engineering company made the following recommendation: A wall, 1.75 metres high, should be built on the left and right of Reuter Street to see if it is quieter.

The citizens' initiative will have nothing to do with wall-building, so they hung their flags out even higher.

Christian Geyer

(Die Welt, Bonn, 8 August 1986)

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grounds that many similar requests had been made and not all could be fulfilled.

Now the wife is dead, possibly suicide. The ombudsman lay awake for nights thinking about this and brooded over justice, the law and man's inhumanity to man.

He is also concerned about the problems of "cohabitation." People living together fought for any number of rights that previously were only allowed to people living in an official state of matrimony. Now disdvantages have emerged.

Two people living together and drawing social assistance are not allowed two benefits to the full amount. They are consistently regarded as a married couple, and officials follow this line fairly rigorously.

Then there was the case of a respectable, poor widow who suddenly had to provide evidence to a suspicious, perhaps malicious, official that she only shared the kitchen with her lodger and not her bed. A case of the state against human dignity.

Rösler has learned much. In no way can the ombudsman parade himself as the "powerful controller." If clear but polite letters are sent to officials they are usually prepared to admit to errors and correct them.

Why has he remained the only ombudsman in the Federal Republic? He believes he knows why.

The Prime Minister of Rhineland-Palatinate, Bernard Vogel (CDU) confessed to his fellow premiers in other *Länder* that in secret he regretted that he had to put up with an ombudsman.

Rösler recently expressed irritation at the congress of European ombudsmen in Vienna, hitting out at the 20 men and women at the congress from the Federal Republic.

They were not ombudsmen and women, he said, but, he derisively said, chairmen of petition committees.

One cannot help having a warm spot for this small, sensitive man who has carried out his duties in this unusual job with such kindness and human understanding.

Joachim Neander

(Die Welt, Bonn, 12 August 1986)